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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1839

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN DELEGATION TO KOSOVO--A delegation of the Union of Writers and Artists of Albania, headed by its secretary, Feim Ibrahim, left for Kosovo on 16 November. The delegation will hold talks with the Kosovo Musical Artists Society. Kujtim Buza, secretary of the union of writers and artists, was present to bid farewell to the delegation. Likewise, the writer Ismail Kadare also left for Kosovo. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1330 GMT 16 Nov 80 AU]

KOSOVO DELEGATION DEPARTS TIRANA--The delegation of the Turist-Kosovo Enterprise of the Autonomous Socialist Province on Kosovo, headed by its director, left Tirana on 11 November. During its stay in Albania the delegation had talks and signed a protocol for tourist relations between the Albturist Enterprise of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and Turist-Kosovo. It also visited various cultural, tourist and economic centers. It was received by Viktor Nushi, minister of domestic trade, who gave a dinner at Hotel Dajti. Also present was Branko Komatina, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. [AU132210 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 11 Nov 80]

CSO: 2100

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

AMBASSADOR TO FAO--The ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Italy, Prio Bita, presented the credentials as permanent representative of the PSR of Albania to FAO to the general director of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, Edward Saouma. Attending the ceremony of the presentation of the credentials was also the general vice-director of FAO, Sima. [AU152022 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 14 Nov 80]

DELEGATION'S DEPARTURE FOR TURKEY--At the invitation of the Turkish radio-television, a delegation of Albanian Radio-TV, led by the general director, Cajup Rusmali, left for Turkey today. The delegation was seen off at the airport by the director of the Albanian Telegraphic Agency Arqile Aleksi, the director of the fourth department of the Foreign Ministry Justin Papajorgji, the vice-general director of Radio-TV Marash Hajati and other comrades. Present to see the delegation off was also the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Turkey to the PSR of Albania Metin O. Karaca. [AU182023 Tirana ATA in English 1700 GMT 18 Nov 80]

LEADERS AT MUSEUM INAUGURATION--A ceremony was held today at Terbac Village in Vlore District, to inaugurate the "Hysni Kapo" Museum House. In addition to a large number of people from Terbac and other villages in the Mesaplik area, from the city of Vlore, former partisans and others, the ceremony was attended by comrades Ramiz Alia, Adil Carcani, Manush Myftiu and Vito Kapo, as well as members of Hysni Kapo's family and relatives. Sul Baholli, first secretary of the Vlore District party committee, opened a rally which preceded the inauguration ceremony itself. Minister of Education and Culture Tefta Cami delivered a speech on the occasion, in which she highlighted decisive moments in the life and work of Hysni Kapo. [Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 80 AU]

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

URO SECRETARY CALLS AID TO WORLD TRADE UNIONS NECESSARY

Prague PRACE in Czech 7 Nov 80 p 5

[Speech by Vilim Kozik, secretary of URO [Central Council of Trade Unions] at the 10th plenary session: "To Strengthen Unity and Class Solidarity"]

[Text] At the beginning of his statement he reported in detail on the recent meeting of the general council of SOF [World Trade Union Federation] in Moscow which took place on the 35th anniversary of the SOF foundation. Then he continued:

"In connection with the intensification of the class struggle on the international scale, increase in unemployment and semi-employment, undermining of social securities, increased militarization, hectic arms race in the capitalist countries, there has been an increase not only in resistance and radicalization, revolutionary mentality of working people and trade unionists, but also in the attacks of the monopoly capital on the rights of trade unions and working people. In this context we could cite hundreds of examples from various countries of Western Europe and the United States, where human rights and trade union rights are violated on a mass scale, where drastic measures are applied against workers and progressive organizations, trade unions among them. Let me give at least some representative examples: a draft of the so-called employer's law has been prepared in Great Britain recently according to which the right to strike and to organize pickets should be virtually eliminated and the direct elections should be replaced by indirect elections. Law No 230 in Portugal permits other organs and organizations to interfere in trade union affairs, while its main objective is to deprive the Portuguese workers of their achievements in the area of trade union rights. The federal court in the FRG ruled recently that the enterprise council did not have the right to participate in the decision, if the entrepreneur extends the normal working time during a strike.

The DGB [German Trade Union Federation] NACHRICHTEN bulletin No 10 of this year states that the unity of trade unions is attacked and threatened in the FRG today as never before since the foundation of DGB. It is more than a paradox that, while these gentlemen increase, virtually every day, their attacks against the trade unions, speak emphatically against the workers' elementary interests, and tolerate most flagrant discrimination, they simultaneously and in every possible way promote and incite the centrifugal forces undermining the unity, the class and international spirit of trade unions as amply made clear also by their campaign in connection with the events in Poland.

International capital pays increasing attention to the consolidation of its positions in the developing countries in the effort to squeeze the biggest possible profit from every franc, dollar, deutsche mark. It is not uninteresting to note that some reformist representatives presented a kind of a new Marshall Plan for the developing countries at this year's conference of the International Labor Organization. We have not yet forgotten what the Marshall Plan signified in the 1950's! We have not yet forgotten that it represented an effort to consolidate the positions of international capital in Europe, to block and reverse the progressive processes in Europe, to consolidate the positions of American imperialism.

Nobody in the West denies that the 1980's are to be the years of struggle for the orientation of developing countries in which the Socialist International, the social democratic parties and trade unions are to play a much important role than ever before. A number of institutions have existed already for decades which are engaged in the study of the general situation in the developing countries and trade union movement, and pay special attention to the training of cadres in the spirit of reformist ideology for the developing countries.

I certainly do not have to emphasize that sharp attacks of international capital are directed against the countries which have embarked on the socialist path of their development. These attacks intensify and multiply. Let us mention for example Afghanistan, Angola, Ethiopia and other countries.

In this situation, our political, moral and international assistance must significantly increase. For this reason, the fulfillment of our international obligations to the working people and progressive trade union movement in various countries of the world is an integral part of our everyday work in trade unions. As of 1 October 1980 we collected more than Kcs 34 million from the sale of the ROH [Revolutionary Trade Union Movement] solidarity stamp and more than Kcs one million were sent directly to the ROH international solidarity fund so that the total exceeded Kcs 35 million.

We especially appreciate and extend our thanks to some individuals. For example comrade Frantisek Morkus from Liskovec near Frydek sent Kcs 5,000; Josef Moravec from Prague 2 Kcs 10,000; the authors' collective headed by comrade Academician Bedrich Svestka from Prague 10 sent Kcs 20,000 to the solidarity fund. You will agree with me, when from this place I express high appreciation of the profound international spirit of these comrades which was reflected in concrete deeds.

In addition to good krajs, okreses and plants as to the purchase of the solidarity stamp, there are also some average krajs -- they constitute the biggest proportion -- and some below the average, as you have been informed in the written document which has been distributed, where we must investigate the reasons for the poor performance in the purchase of the solidarity stamp and improve the situation in accordance with the resolution of the highest trade union organs. Like many times in the past we must state also today that it is not our members who are to blame, but the way in which they approached, in which the importance of this campaign is explained to them and in which those responsible work with them.

Our assistance to the trade unions and working people in the developing and capitalist countries is general. We have expended more than Kcs 18 million from the ROH international solidarity fund so far this year and this is not yet the end of 1980. Material assistance was for example rendered to the fraternal central council of

trade unions in Vietnam, Cuba, Afghanistan, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe, Mali, South Africa, Namibia, Guinea, Ethiopia, Cyprus, Greece and recently also to Algiers, trade unions of many Arab countries such as Yemen People's Democratic Republic, Yemen Arab Republic, Syria, Palestine [? Liberation Movement] and Lebanon. Major support and aid is rendered to the international trade union committee of solidarity with the workers and people of Chile which has its headquarters in Prague. The ROH supported from its solidarity fund the trade unions also in other Latin American countries.

For the most part, this assistance consisted of furnishings for the trade union headquarters. Most demanded were the means of transportation, microbuses, cars, motorcycles, tape recorders, radio receivers, projectors, x-ray equipment, drugs, medical instruments, tents, office supplies, sporting goods. We have been asked to supply literature, translations of material from the history of our trade union movement.

I do not have to emphasize that we pay special attention to the training of cadres who are the most valuable capital. We are glad to do it. In this context I would like to express our appreciation of our A. Zapotocky trade union school in which these seminars take place.

Every year, our country entertains the children from the families of striking or unemployed workers in the ROH pioneer camps. This year, it was the children from Great Britain, France, Portugal, Greece, Cyprus. In addition, children from Vietnam and Angola came for recreation in our country. And I have not mentioned yet the number of people who come to our country for an extended medical treatment and so on.

It is thus clear that the solidarity fund is used for many purposes. In connection with the intensifying struggles of workers and progressive trade unions against imperialism and reaction, there will be an increased need of our solidarity in specific forms. For this reason, we immensely appreciate the international attitude of the working people toward our class brethren in the developing and capitalist countries.

I would like to express the hope that every organ and organization, every trade unionist will actively participate both by their work and attitudes in strengthening solidarity also in the future everywhere that our class brethren will need it. This is in the interest of peace, happy life of working people and social progress throughout the world."

10501
CSO: 2400

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

POLISH SITUATION BLAMED FOR RENEWED 'ABGRENZUNG' POLICY

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLEGEMEINE in German 29 Oct 80 p 12

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters, datelined Berlin, late October: "SED Plays With High Stakes--Resentment in GDR at Honecker's Abrupt Change of Course in German-German Policy"]

[Text] As the strikes in Poland kept growing in intensity last July and August and strikers' demands became more and more political, increasing numbers of people could be found in the GDR who, when involved in conversation about events in Poland, would reply spontaneously: "No matter what the outcome, we in the GDR will be the ones to suffer." Today this has been confirmed for practically everyone concerned. The citizens of the GDR had never been particularly fond of their neighbors east of the Oder and Neisse; they accuse them of emptying their shops. But during the last days and weeks, resentments dating from the end of the war against the Poles (the term "Polacks" is not infrequently heard in the GDR) has, if anything, increased. Certainly, many in the GDR who know via Western radio and TV (since their own media are silent on the issue) about the Polish workers' battle for independent unions, for legalizing the right to strike and for freedom of opinion and social improvements, are watching in awe and perhaps even with some envy, how Polish workers intimidate the party and the Politbureau and how they are making life difficult for them. But all the secret sympathy for Lech Walesa and his cohorts is drowned out and pushed aside by the conviction that developments in Poland--whatever turn they may take--will have nothing but adverse effects upon the population of the GDR.

There is no lack of confirmation for these feelings. In view of the events in Poland, Federal Chancellor Schmidt was forced to cancel his meeting with SED chief Honecker in the GDR, a meeting to which the GDR population had been looking forward with some hope. Because of the tense economic conditions in Poland the GDR was forced to make supplementary shipments to Poland. The GDR population is fully aware that in their daily shopping they feel the effects of additional exports over and above the quantities agreed upon for delivery to Poland: 100,000 tons of rye, 1,500 tons of chickens, 1,000 tons of butter, 200 tons of oats, 100 tons of baby food, 70,000 articles of mens and womens' clothing as well as other consumer goods. But that is not all: because of the strikes in Poland, Polish imports contracted for do not arrive on time and in the proper amounts in the GDR. Especially in those GDR enterprises which are dependent on hard coal, the lack of shipments from Poland is drastically obvious. Thus the side effects of the events in Poland increase considerably the already pre-existing economic difficulties in the GDR. Under these circumstances,

there can hardly be any question about a further rise in the GDR population's standard of living.

But the population was hardest hit by the SED leadership's putting into effect a drastic increase in the mandatory money conversion rate for Western visitors. Not only was the GDR population forced to renounce any hope that the German-German dialogue might perhaps result in increased opportunities for travel to the West; the increase in the mandatory money conversion rate further subjected it to a drastic reduction in human contact with relatives and friends residing in the West. Honecker's speech in Gera, in which he made impossible demands as the price for the continuation of his "normalization" policies for relations with the FRG (i.e. recognition of GDR citizenship, a change in permanent representation in embassies, which would be tantamount to recognizing the GDR as a separate country under international law; acceptance of the GDR position in the controversy about the ELBE border)--all that was an ex-post facto official confirmation for the GDR population that 'Abgrenzung' has once again displaced detente policy. Hardly anyone in the GDR believes the official justification for the mandatory money conversion rate (reduced purchasing power of Western currencies and speculation in Ostmarks through "fraudulent maneuvers" in the West); rather, people feel that with these explanations they are being given the "idiot treatment." They find it obvious that this time it is not a matter of money, but that the SED is trying to choke off the flow of visitors by means of the mandatory money conversion rate. That is the sort of thing which promotes resentment and increases discontent in the GDR population.

It is quite possible that the SED leadership was thoroughly worried about internal security in the GDR in view of the events in Poland. Inasmuch as the reigning Politbureaucrats are only sketchily informed about the real mood of their own population (they get their information almost exclusively from State Security Service reports), it may well be that the SED leadership was afraid that the Polish freedom spark could leap over to the GDR and therefore felt it necessary to pull the intra-German emergency brake. However, it is more likely that East Berlin was forced by Moscow, which is highly alarmed by developments in Poland and fears serious consequences for the entire "socialist camp," to stop the detente process with Bonn, which the Soviets consider under the present circumstances to be an additional source of danger for the interior security of their bloc. In any case, Honecker and the members of the SED Politbureau (especially the minister for state security, Mielke) have given the GDR population clear warning of the SED's determination not to permit "Polish conditions" in the GDR. Said Honecker in Gera: "We would like to see a stable situation in the People's Republic of Poland; the counterrevolution must realize that west of the Elbe and Werra there is a limit to its sphere of power."

In analyzing the official reaction by Moscow and the other Warsaw Pact states to the events in Poland, it becomes apparent that Moscow is most reticent in its statements while the party leaders in Prague, Bucarest, Budapest and, last but not least, East Berlin, are all the more issuing loud and emphatic warnings against counterrevolutionary developments in Poland. Honecker clearly stated in Gera that "the socialist GDR cannot be indifferent toward the fate of People's Poland," adding emphatically: "The People's Republic of Poland is and will remain a socialist country." Taken together with statements by Ceausescu and the leaders of the Czech and Hungarian parties, this gives the impression of a well-produced play with the speaking parts distributed among, on the one hand, Moscow and the above-named Warsaw Pact countries on the other. It is beginning to look as though a possible

Soviet intervention (which would of course entail the participation of the other Warsaw Pact nations, including the GDR) would this time not be "justified" by a cry for help from the country concerned, but by a plea from the surrounding countries to Moscow to stop the dangerous developments in Poland. It is easy to imagine the disastrous consequences of participation by German soldiers of the GDR's NVA in an intervention in Poland upon the relationship between Germany and Poland, not to speak of other consequences.

SED stakes in this game are high even without an intervention in Poland. After all, it has provoked resentment and discontent among the population by these intimidation measures, which were originally designed to prevent these feelings. While the strikes in Poland and the Polish workers' fight for greater freedom had touched the GDR population to a very limited degree and certainly did not incite it to follow suit, Honecker's abrupt change of course in German-German policy, the renewed brutal Abgrenzung policy by the SED, has provoked widespread outrage. It can hardly be expected that this dissension will merely express itself in heightened resentment against the Polish neighbors.

9273

CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW FRG GOVERNMENT URGED TO CHANGE BASIC LAW, NORMALIZE RELATIONS

East Berlin DIE WELTBUEHNE in German Vol 75 No 46, 11 Nov 80 pp 1441-1443

[Article by Werner Haendler, Bonn correspondent for GDR Radio: "The Real Open Questions"]

[Text] What promotes and what impedes neighborly, reasonable, normal relations between the GDR and the FRG? Four weeks after Erich Honecker's Gera speech, which triggered intense reactions, speculations and imputations in the FRG, one would expect the people in the FRG to begin to analyse and discuss these problems in a more objective way. So far, however, there have been no indications that this is about to happen.

It is grotesque, for example, that DIE WELT--the "respectable" paper of the Springer concern in whose products the letters DDR must be enclosed in quotation marks--regretfully states that Erich Honecker's speech put a stop to all moves toward detente. Such a statement by the very paper that has always rabidly opposed and still opposes the smallest step toward detente! But even semi-official reactions in Bonn--that do acknowledge the fact that the GDR, all difficulties and problems notwithstanding, considers further steps on the road toward normalization of the relations between the two states to be feasible and desirable--contain the accusation that this road has been blocked by an "avalanche of unacceptable demands" on the part of the GDR. But all Erich Honecker did was to call a spade a spade. He pointed out that the FRG policy of intensified interference and of violation of the sovereignty of its Eastern neighbors seriously endangers the process of normalization. The allegedly unacceptable demands turn out to be a requisite exhortation to Bonn finally to discontinue its internationally unlawful practices, that is to say to recognize GDR citizenship, to exchange ambassadors and to drop its opposition to a conclusive settlement of the border problem.

In reply to the question exactly why normal inter-German relations conforming to international law are unacceptable to Bonn, the FRG always cites its Basic Law as an insurmountable obstacle. In fact, here are the deeper reasons underlying the inconsistencies of the policy that the social-liberal coalition has been pursuing for 11 years vis-a-vis the socialist states. To be sure, the FRG eventually faced up to the necessity to establish contractual relations with them (incidentally, with reason: In order to forestall the impending isolation, to gain access to the United Nations, to help the business sector to effect transactions with the East, etc.); at the same time, however, the FRG set up revisionist rear positions,

a good example of which is the basic thesis of "leaving open the German question." Behind this thesis, there is the hope of finding--somehow and someday--ways and means of restoring the power of capitalism in the GDR. This is as illusory as fantastic, but it proves that the FRG is not prepared to accept the existence of socialism on German soil. And that smells of revanchism--all the gloss notwithstanding.

It goes without saying that the continuous references to the "limits of the Basic Law" are only an excuse. Whenever it served the strategic interests of German imperialism, the FRG rulers have always been quick about revising the constitution and they have done so in over 100 cases--once, at the time they pushed through the emergency laws, even against the sharp protest of the majority of the population. No, in reality the Basic Law is not the obstacle; the crux of the matter is the still prevalent--albeit concealed--revanchist tenor of Bonn's policy. In pursuit of this policy, the FRG rulers put up the most sophisticated, pseudo-legal constructs--shaky structures far removed from any reality.

On the one hand, the existence of two independent states is--of necessity--recognized and even contractually sanctioned. At the same time, however, citizens of the contracting partner are not recognized as citizens of their state; rather, the FRG claims (with reference to the citizenship law of 1913!!) that they are "German citizens", thus continuously violating the GDR's sovereignty. In practice, this leads to paradoxical situations such as were encountered by the present writer in his capacity as the Bonn correspondent of GDR Radio: Since he, too, was subject to that "comprehensive German citizenship", he regularly received--all his protests notwithstanding--official communications requesting him to vote in state and federal elections. If I had belonged to a younger age group, I would possibly even have received an induction order by the Federal Armed Forces.

I trust no comment is necessary to show how much this attitude and this practice impede the relations between the two states. As democratic jurists in the FRG have pointed out, this is a "unique anomaly"; in fact, the FRG probably is the only state in the world that wants to impose its citizenship on citizens of another state, with which it simultaneously maintains contractual relations. On 21 December 1972, in ratifying the Basic Agreement, our government placed on record the hope that the "agreement will facilitate a settlement of the citizenship problem." That was 8 years ago; the balance sheet shows, however, that Bonn did not in any way use these years to effect a rapprochement; rather, Bonn has hardened its dogmatic--i.e. revanchist--position. This is evident from the questions concerning the course of the border that have remained undecided: Settlement of these issues has been blocked, since certain circles in the FRG want to shift the Elbe border further toward the East--if only by a short distance.

Would not the interests of peace and of neighborly relations be served better, if--after the joint border commission has done its work and reached important agreements--the course of the border along the Elbe River were settled as soon as possible in accordance with international law?

Incidentally--and this is meant merely as a comment on certain speculations of FRG media--as regards the reaffirmation of these legitimate and peace-promoting demands, the moment is well chosen: No elections are imminent in the FRG. In Bonn,

a new government is about to take up its duties; free from time-related and other pressures, it thus can concern itself with the normalization of its relations with its Eastern neighbor, an important contracting partner.

On the other hand, in the interest of its citizens the GDR must ponder the question what form the relations with the FRG are to take in the next 10 years. This question is pressing if only because of the fact that in the recent past the FRG has been playing the role of a vanguard--both in regard to the drafting of NATO's long-term armament program and in regard to the implementation of the Brussels missile resolution. These actions and decisions--of which the FRG chancellor has been boasting everywhere--are a blatant manifestation of a policy of confrontation; they are diametrically opposed to the policy of peaceful coexistence and detente. After all, confrontation and coexistence, revanchism and neighborly relations are irreconcilable. The time is ripe for solving these contradictions. The sooner the FRG can come up with a constructive answer to the question posed at the beginning of this article, the better for all parties involved.

8760
CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LESS REGIMENTED EDUCATION NEEDED FOR GIFTED

East Berlin FORUM in German Vol 34 No 20, Oct 80 pp 4-5

[Interview by Thomas Haubner with Prof Gerhart Neuner, president, GDR Academy of Pedagogical Sciences: "How Does One Educate the Gifted?" A translation of a recent East Berlin EINHEIT article by Professor Neuner is published under the heading, "Social Science Teachers To Stress Dialectics, Glass Morality," in JPRS 76481, 24 Sep 80, No 1815 of this series, pp 92-102]

[Text] [Question] In all fields of social life--whether in science, in the production sector or in other fields--people are calling for the development and strengthening of our citizens' creative faculties and creativity. In this regard, the present stage of the scientific-technological revolution is setting new goals and standards. Have the pedagogical sciences developed any ideas in regard to ways of solving this problem?

[Answer] We must more effectively translate into action all that we know, all that is clear in this respect. This is the first requirement. One thing is clear: Those who are not educated, not open, not sensitive to science and culture cannot be expected to produce creative results. A high level of all-round education certainly is not the be-all and end-all. But this where creativity begins. According to tests involving individuals participating in the student competition and in the Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow, creative young people have from childhood been strongly activity-oriented. They have interests and hobbies; they read; they are never bored. They are always--and have always been--occupied with a project.

Creative achievements require original thought, novel solutions, the courage to leave the beaten track. Some people consider contemporaries showing such traits to be disagreeable. I think teachers and leaders should take care not to bury through careless measures and evaluations what should be cultivated, promoted and guided into the proper channels. Creative achievements require energy, willpower, persistence, the capacity for teamwork, and discipline. All this must be trained and practiced as well--until physical and psychological stability is attained.

But there is a second requirement: In certain important fields, our knowledge is either not sufficient or it is not yet ready for application. Thus we do have a certain amount of information as to what general and specific psychological attributes are necessary for creative achievements. But we are not able reliably to diagnose them. We know a few things on certain sets of problems and on problem-

solving procedures, but for problem-oriented instruction we still lack fully developed and tested methods and procedures, collections of interesting problems for different grades and subjects. We know that creative achievements are not only a matter of intellectual faculties, of grades and grade point averages, but we still do not sufficiently help the teachers and educators in their evaluations--and especially in their decisions concerning study plans and vocational careers--correctly to assess the total personality. Moreover, such evaluations frequently are not yet attributed sufficient importance in admission proceedings. These are research- and educational policy-related problems and we are continuing our efforts to solve them.

In some fields, e.g. in sports, there is relatively accurate information as to how peak performance is attained. In regard to science, the situation is different. What course does pedagogics pursue so as to train or prepare the children already during their school years for subsequent scientific achievements and at the same time to prevent them from turning into ivory-towered specialists?

Young people promising to produce outstanding results (whether this will come to pass no one can predict with certainty) can be selected all the better, the broader and more specific the selection possibilities created by the school and by extra-curricular activities. Consequently, the selection must be based on a thorough, prognostic evaluation of the young people's capacities. And it is necessary to use special promotion methods. In some fields, e.g. mathematics, sports, foreign languages and certain artistic disciplines, such methods are relatively well developed, but less so in the scientific-technological disciplines.

These methods are applied by us on the basis of and in combination with general education, the development of the personality as a whole. In the children's and youth sport academies, too, the young people receive an all-round education and training. However, a high level of athletic performance and performance motivation remains the focal point of the personality development.

It has been established that the capacity for peak performance is closely related to education, to the loyalty to our state, to respect of the working class and of work, to industriousness, reliability, modesty. In aiding the advancement of young people, one must avoid producing in them the impression that they are little Einsteins, Lomonossovs, etc. Only the actual accomplishments can show if an individual is going to be innovative in science or technology. And such innovations call for involvement of the entire personality!

In our polytechnical high school, we have numerous possibilities concerning the advancement of special talents: Differentiated work in the obligatory subjects, optional subjects, student projects, teaching assistants, study groups, fairs and olympiads. At present, we are looking into ways of exploiting these possibilities still more effectively. I feel there are untapped reserves here--even in regard to the formal framework of olympiads and fairs. Sometimes, the emphasis is on attendance figures and exhibits rather than on real talent development. We have the extended high school, vocational training capped by high-school graduation, and other college-preparatory programs, which we are presently developing and improving in terms of both substance and organization so as to further raise the quality and effectiveness of the college-preparatory programs. The pertinent measures adopted and initiated must be viewed, understood and implemented in the above-mentioned

framework. In our educational system, we have diverse special schools, specialists' camps, student associations and other special forms serving to advance special talents. In vocational training, in the universities and technical colleges, there are proven ways and methods of aiding gifted apprentices, young skilled workers, students and junior researchers. The Fifth University Conference evaluated the experience gained in this respect and broached questions concerning future developments. I fully agree to statements made at the conference, above all statements in the report of the minister for university and technical college affairs, Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, to the effect that in applying the numerous regulations concerning the development of gifted children, we should be bolder, show more initiative and develop more original ideas. In principle, our uniform socialist educational system offers the requisite flexibility of educational channels. However, the pathways from the classroom to the achievement of outstanding results, above all outstanding results in science and technology, frequently are not yet sufficiently efficient and effective. In this regard, it is not only encouragement that is required; we must also analyze and generalize positive results, e.g. by means of individualized study plans and individualized educational programs. We should also examine whether all of the problems concerning the points of transition between the individual stages of the educational system have been settled in accordance with the objectives of the talent-development program. In collaboration with the Central Institute for Vocational Training, the Institute for Higher Learning and the Institute for Technical School Affairs, the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences has produced a study that broaches the pertinent problems, and we will further research this complex of questions; we are going to produce more accurate analyses and work out proposals and recommendations.

Regardless of what methods and forms of organization are chosen, the crucial contributions are made by competent scientists, engineers and technicians, who personally work with the young people, with university and high school students, with apprentices. All of our experience shows: The capacity for outstanding achievements has a personal component; it presupposes an appropriate relationship between teachers--taken here in the broadest sense--and students!

[Question] In conclusion, another question: What pointers and advice would you give a present-day student? In your view, what are the key study principles that a student should observe so as to be able upon his or her graduation to meet the expectations of our society?

[Answer] Considering the advice given the students by the Fifth University Conference--above all the remarks in Prof Kurt Hager's concluding statement--I cannot and do not want to say anything new. I can only confirm from my own experience: I am deeply convinced that any course of studies requires total commitment on the part of the student. Society places confidence in the student--in advance, as it were. As a result--I do not mind repeating it--there is a great political and moral obligation. In my view, to study is to learn thoroughly, to review, to seek the best way of letting sink in the subject matter learned. I strongly urge the young people systematically to train their memory.

This should not be confused with mechanical cramming. I want the students to be so courageous as to go beyond the textbook, the lecture, the tasks at hand and to draw on their own words, ideas and solutions. At the University Conference, it

was justly pointed out that this also involved problems concerning study organization and that these problems could not be solved by the student alone.

I am strongly in favor of high requirements. Those whose goals are insufficiently high, who want to proceed at a comfortable pace, who are oriented toward average accomplishments--they fail to see the issues that presently are of crucial importance in all fields, and in science and technology in particular. I approve of the practice of acquainting the university students at an early stage with scientifically productive problems, all the more so since we have begun to introduce high school students to such tasks. This is a challenge; it gives them the opportunity to test their abilities, to deepen their knowledge in a particular field. There is a great deal of truth in the statement of A.W. Lunacharskiy, the young Soviet state's first people's commissar for national education, to the effect that one should be capable of taking in all of the music, the harmonies produced by the entire orchestra, but that one should play one particular instrument masterfully.

Naturally, I do not recommend that the students do nothing but pore over their books, that they totally withdraw to their studies and wear themselves out through constant stress. Every specialist must first of all be a citizen, a universally educated individual. He or she must have a point of view and must also defend it; he or she must take an interest in world affairs, must participate in the activities of the FDJ [Free German Youth] group, must carry out social tasks, must love, be sociable, engage in sports, read a book, go to the theatre, in short: He or she must find the rhythm of an industrious, interesting, cultured and healthy life!

I expect people will say: It is easy for him to talk. How can one find the time to do all this? The day has only 24 hours. That is both little and much. As far as I am concerned, I learned during my studies--and that was a long time ago--to manage my time, to work by the calendar, to find time for the most pressing tasks. This has always been helpful to me.

8760
CSO: 2300

LEKAI DEFENDS STANCE OF CATHOLIC CHURCH IN HUNGARY

Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Nov 80 p 7

[Article by C. Gustav Stroehm: "Conversation With Cardinal Lekai, 'We Cannot Accomplish Anything by Pounding on the Table'"]

[Text] Esztergom--Where does the Hungarian Catholic Church stand today? What is its relationship with the communist state--and what is its attitude toward its Polish fellow believers, who have gained so much attention because of the most recent events and because of Pope John Paul II? Archbishop and Cardinal Laszlo Lekai, the primate of Hungary, was remarkably open when answering questions during a conversation with Western journalists in the archbishop's Palace of Esztergom (Gran), located on the Danube and in view of the large basilica.

Lekai, a vigorous, witty man with a good sense of humor, was using the German language. He was obviously trying to correct the image that has been created of him in the West and in Polish Catholic circles: The image of a man who gives in too-easily to the communist regime.

"Even the pope realizes that the Polish way is not the only one leading to salvation," Lekai said at the conclusion of his meeting with the WELT correspondent. "Being Hungarians, Hungarian Catholics, we have to go our own way." Conditions in Hungary are different from those in Poland. Each East European country has its own special conditions. "The Czechs, for instance, would like to change with us, but we would not like to change with them. Strictly speaking, we would not like to change with the Poles either."

So-called heroic deeds, the cardinal said, accomplish nothing. When he made such statements, the listeners remembered that Lekai was at one time secretary to Cardinal Mindszenty, who was arrested by the communist secret police the day after Christmas in the same rooms where we were now engaged in conversation.

The Hungarians, Lekai continued, had taken the road of heroic deeds twice and received no assistance whatsoever except beautiful words. "At one time, my predecessors on this chair of the Archbishop of Esztergom negotiated with the king of Hungary who was simultaneously emperor in Vienna. My situation right now is quite a different one. The church is not bound to emperors and kings but it is there for the people of God. The people of God, however, want this church to exist. We are, after all, living in a communist country--and we want to survive, and survive in a manner which makes believers feel that they are human beings."

Constant disputes and constant disturbances are not good for the people, the cardinal stated. Alluding to the most recent events in Poland--but without giving the name of the country--he thought that the following Latin saying was appropriate for the people: "Primum est vivere, deinde philosophare" (Living comes first, philosophizing comes later). One can only philosophize when one is not hungry. "When one has a stomachache because one is hungry, one is restless." There has never been hunger in Hungary and even today no hunger exists thanks to the good organization of agricultural cooperatives.

Subsequently the cardinal pointed to the coat of arms he had chosen for himself. It consists of a cut off tree, the stump of which is producing new green branches. Nevertheless, you cannot expect a tree to have new branches at noon when it was only cut off in the morning. It is a tedious process. The question is asked again and again, in Lekai's words: "Why is the Hungarian church not breaking loose?" His only answer to that is: "No, that is not our way, that is not our situation. It would be unwise." Lekai put it this way: Although the country is governed by communists, "a certain pluralism" exists in Hungary between believers and nonbelievers, between theists and atheists.

Both share common interests but also difficulties. The latter, however, can only be solved through "great, overwhelming patience. We cannot accomplish anything by pounding on the table," Lekai stated. Rather, "cautious, prudent dialog" is necessary.

The cardinal used sharp words in criticizing the activities of certain so-called "basic congregations" that are accusing the official church of being too "servile" toward the state, inciting a revolution against the hierarchy and, as a consequence, ruining the unity of the church. The cardinal was referring to approximately 52 congregations of this kind in Hungary. Their membership consists of 12 believers and one priest for each congregation--following the example of Christ and the 12 apostles. The church, however, does not owe the fact that it has survived to date to these "ungrateful people" but to those simple priests who are performing their duties sacrificially.

"A few things are beginning to happen here," Lekai said. He pointed, among other things, to the theological correspondence courses which had finally been approved by the regime. The reason why only 300 had been accepted out of 600 applicants for these courses was not because the regime demanded it but because only persons with a secondary school diploma could be considered. With regard to the establishment of relations between the Vatican and the Hungarian government, it is of concern primarily to these two institutions. He, Lekai, could get along without it.

Apparently, the primate wants to wrest concessions from the Hungarian regime. The church is to be rewarded for its stabilizing role in society. He wants to prevent Hungary from suddenly being caught up again in the whirlpool of Polish unrest, as happened in 1956. At that time, the revolt started in Poland--but the catastrophe did not strike until Budapest got involved, and the Poles, eventually, washed their hands of the affair.

Lekai's effort to establish a "counterpoint" to Poland is in agreement with the intentions of the Kadar regime. "He is a good Catholic and a good Hungarian," was the comment of an official state functionary concerning the conversation with the cardinal.

MSZMP'S ACZEL ADDRESSES BUDAPEST AKTIV MEETING

AU090814 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 3 Dec 80 p 4

[Report on address by MSZMP Politburo member Gyorgy Aczel at a 1 December Communist AKTIV meeting at the Budapest Party Committee's Educational Directorate: "Lecture by Gyorgy Aczel on Topical Issues of Our Cultural Life; Let Us Retain Our Achievements, Let Our Work be More Exacting"]

[Text] "Defining our current goals and long-term ones for years ahead, our party's 12th Congress has provided a clear mobilizing force program for our people as a whole. It simultaneously urges the preservation of our achievements, which requires dynamic activity, and a creative-spirited regeneration, which calls for better and more exacting work in all areas," stressed Gyorgy Aczel, member of the MSZMP Politburo and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the preamble of a lecture he held at a communist AKTIV meeting at the Villanyi Street Educational Directorate of the Budapest Party Committee.

In Conformity With Requirements

Before leading officials and activists of the capitol's party, state and social organizations and educational institutes, he dealt with topical issues of our ideological and cultural life. In the context of the directives of the 12th Party Congress and the present requirements of our development, he analyzed the tasks of people working in cultural areas that are of outstanding significance in a multifaceted shaping of the human factor, which plays such an important role in the accomplishment of tasks, and in the development of collective-mindedness, including the area of arts. He pointed out: Not only does the stability of our system and the constancy of the main elements of our policy not mean an unchanged character of our work and practice, but, indeed, they call for dynamism and progress. Without advancing, we cannot preserve our achievements. However, it is only feasible to advance if we consolidate our results to date. Today, even more than before, development obliges us to be able to want to and to dare to break away from everything that has had its day and, at the same time, to seek, discover and apply as extensively as possible and as consistently as possible modern principles and methods that are more in keeping with stricter requirements. We have to keep the future in mind even while we accomplish today's tasks. In so doing, we must endeavor, also in the further phases of socialist development, to retain and even strengthen the unity in action of the classes and strata of our society and maintain completely and develop mutual trust between our party and people.

Our plans and aspirations build simultaneously on a general and vocational education in keeping with the increasing requirements of development a modern world outlook and moral attitude, cultured public life and the enrichment of personality. The person who feels well and works in a sound and fruitful workplace atmosphere where he is really needed can use and develop best his ability not only to the advantage of his immediate community and society, but to his own advantage as well.

Science and Practice

Scientific workers should be given tasks that are a challenge to their knowledge and ability, sensible, useful and inspiring tasks. They should feel and experience constantly that their work is needed and practical activity is ready to absorb and utilize new results. We cannot be satisfied by far with our results in this area to date; however, having the path of a solution in sight, we are taking steps that accord with the interests of science and production. We are guided by a dual goal. First, there must not be experts regarding themselves as superfluous at scientific workshops and research institutes. Second, there should be an appropriate intellectual capacity at the disposal of producing and manufacturing enterprises for the earliest and most effective introduction of modern technical and technological processes. Changes can cause human conflicts, but we will see to it that personal upsets be as small as possible and over with as soon as possible. We intend to assert social interests--which come, of course, first--with consideration to personal interests.

Substantive Rejuvenation of Public Education

Schools play a determining role in smoothing the path of the age groups reaching adulthood and the education of experts who possess a modern general education and vocational knowledge, experts prepared and able to knowingly absorb and creatively apply what is new. The position of the educational institution system affects society as a whole and has a direct impact on the activity of all classes and strata of society. Modernizing general and higher education, the outlines of which are already visible, will be one of the greatest undertakings of the one to two decades ahead of us. While retaining proven forms and the stable character of education, plans promise a vigorous improvement of the quality of training. Through changes, we intend to create better prerequisites for the acquisition of versatile knowledge.

In public education, a substantive rejuvenation of school work will be brought to the fore. Just as in the entire educational process, the teacher is the school's determining figure in bringing that about. At the same time, we intend to develop a program capable of arousing the entire society's attention, interest and active and committed approval. We would like parents and families to participate even more actively in resolving the problems of the cause of education.

The Role of Ideology Has Increased

The significance of ideology has increased in recent years, noted Gyorgy Aczel, stressing: We must provide new answers to the new questions that arise in the course of development. Intensive ideological work is required by the interpretation and suppression of certain disturbing manifestations and erroneous and perhaps harmful views as well. All this requires a constantly strengthening of the

hegemony of Marxism. Marxist ideology helps to make people feel natural that development is not devoid of contradictions and, at the same time, it makes it easier for them to separate the inevitable from the accidental.

Life has proven the correctness of the guiding principles of educational policy developed by our party more than 2 decades ago, principles that have been unabatedly prevailing since. Their application and implementation have enriched our national culture and intellectual life with lasting values. Those principles are valid even today and will remain viable in the future as well. However, we must further develop some of their substantive elements and practical methods. As with other areas of our life, we must emphasize the improvement of quality also in this respect.

The Responsibility of Cultural Workshops

We understand the sincere, responsible voice of creators in the grip of the difficulties of progress, but we come out resolutely against superficiality, cheapness, an unhistorical approach and false generalization, which appear at times even in works. In supporting the arts, priority will be enjoyed also in the future by socialist-spirited creations that serve socialism and the people on a high standard. We respect and encourage experiments and endeavors--which might only bear fruit tomorrow--which are not self-centered, which are not aimed merely at their creator's "self-realization," but which strive to depict our life in a more profound way and our truth in a novel way. We are and will be patient also with creators who are not as yet socialists, but enrich our socialist culture with their works and the values of them. Our cooperation is built on a principled basis and also requires that we conduct a debate as between partners. However, we will continue to guard against anyone being able to use the public forum in the service of destructive ideas intended to cause harm and endeavors contrary to our laws.

Gyorgy Aczel spoke with emphasis about the responsibility of cultural workshops and their leaders. They should ensure the freedom of creation in the service of our good cause and the culture of the people as a whole, but should not permit anyone to abuse it. Their independence should be coupled with suitable responsibility and their exactitude should express itself in espousing quality and genuine values and supporting talent. They should take care that lack of talent and commonplace should not encroach anywhere and creators should not lose touch with their public, the cultural requirements and interests of the millions of working people. They should keep that in mind in spite of the fact that it is our duty to do all we can for the esthetic education of the broadest strata and to foster understanding for true culture even by criticizing cheap taste.

Marxist criticism plays an indispensable role in espousing initiatives of the right direction, seeking out new values, developing the freedom of creation and strengthening contacts between the arts and the public. However, it can fulfill its mission only if it becomes more of an initiator and bolder in evaluation, in praising what is good and censuring what is to be ejected. Its cultivators should consider, among other things, that the mediating and guiding role of criticism may become distorted if personal emotions take the place of principled assessment.

We Continue to Rejuvenate Our Intellectual Life

We intend to continue regenerating and rejuvenating our intellectual life. We abide by what has been laid down by our party's 12th Congress: Art and culture are fulfilling a role that cannot be substituted with anything else in the building of a socialist society and the shaping of socialist man. However, to make progress, a more committed and open support of genuine values and improvement of the direction of artistic workshops are needed, said Gyorgy Aczel at the end of his address.

CSO: 2500

REACTIONS OF KRAKOW STUDENTS TO RECENT UNREST NOTED

Resolution Issued

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 19, 25 Sep - 8 Oct 80 pp 5, 11

[Commentary by editors of STUDENT: "Plenum Notes"]

[Text] "For a long time now we have realized that our country is faced with a mounting social and economic crisis. The events of recent months have given us a reason to hope for a better future. In these difficult times we have made it known that we are in sympathy with the workers' demands calling for improvement in the quality of life and for the democratization of public life.

"On numerous occasions university students have given voice to their concerns and fears about the future. Unfortunately, their statements have gone unheeded. But we are now pleased to note that their proper demands have finally been placed on the agenda for a public debate. We believe that the real strength of our society, which has manifested itself under such dramatic circumstances in the past, will be given a permanent role to play within the framework of our country's political system.

"The courageous stand taken by the workers and intellectuals has shown us that it is possible to openly advocate the views of our student community, views which are in line with the thinking of a majority of Poles.

"It is our duty to fight to make sure that the serious issues which the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] has raised on so many occasions, issues which have thus far been ignored, should finally meet with some response.

"It is imperative that the spirit of change and renewal that is spreading throughout our country, something which we all have been looking forward to for so long, should also have an impact on institutions of higher education and on our role in these institutions and in the life of the nation as a whole."

The above remarks comprise the introduction to a resolution of the Plenum of the Krakow Board of the SZSP held on 17 September 1980. In view of the importance of this resolution and the debate it has touched off in the student community we would like to acquaint our readers further with its contents.

Part one of the resolution is devoted in its entirety to SZSP organizational matters.

"We believe that an umbrella organization uniting all students should continue to play an active role in the life of the university student community. This organization must be open to everyone who accepts the political tenets contained in the Constitution of the Polish People's Republic. It cannot set up any barriers to membership in it based on personal world views. It must provide a forum for united action on the part of the student community as a whole.

"We also believe that in order to insure the implementation of the demands which it raises it must be a self-governing and autonomous body. The strength of the university student community resides in its unity and cohesiveness. Only by remaining united will we be able to insist upon the effective and prompt fulfillment of our legitimate demands. This is why we take the position that there should be only one university students' organization based on this kind of all-encompassing, federative framework aimed at representing the interests of all young people enrolled in the universities. At the same time, we acknowledge that other student organizations and associations, set up in accordance with standards that are not universally shared, might also have a role to play.

"We are proposing that delegates to the governing boards of the colleges should be elected directly and without any interference from the existing student organizations.

"We firmly believe that the idea of a universal students' organization sprang from the experiences of the university students' movement, and the SZSP is also a part of this movement. As far as the practical aspects of our work are concerned, and this holds true for the SZSP organization as a whole, we have dedicated ourselves to the goal of bringing about the full realization of the principle of universality, and in so doing we have tried to avoid raising up any barriers within the academic community. Unfortunately, however, there are many awkwardly phrased provisions in the bylaws of the SZSP that could be and in fact were interpreted differently.

"This is why we are demanding that steps should be taken to rewrite these provisions. This must be taken care of at the next congress of the SZSP. We want the date for the convening of this congress to be moved up so that it can be held in October of this year. This congress must see to it that these matters are spelled out in clear and unequivocal terms in the SZSP Statutes. In particular these provisions must contain some reference to the principles of the SZSP's autonomy and independence with regard to the process whereby it states its views on the problems related to Poland's socioeconomic development and also to the SZSP's openness to all students, regardless of their religious beliefs.

"At the same time, the Krakow Board of the SZSP enjoins all of the collegiate and departmental branches of the SZSP in its jurisdiction to conduct a wide-ranging debate prior to the convening of the congress that will be focused on proposed changes in the way our organization carries out its duties with special reference to:

--the role of the Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth and the SZSP's affiliation with this organization,

--the reform of the SZSP's electoral system along lines geared toward the holding of direct elections and the separation of its executive and deliberative powers,

--setting age limits for persons (who are not students) holding elective offices and devising a method for their rotation,

--and shortening the tenures of persons holding elective offices on the Provincial Boards and on the Central Board of the SZSP."

Part two of the plenum's resolution consists of statements made by representatives of the Krakow SZSP organization dealing with the country's current social and political situation.

These representatives are demanding that steps should be taken to institute the complete rotation of SZSP officers at all levels coupled with the establishment of fixed rules to govern this process; to promulgate legal standards which endow all self-governing organs with decisionmaking powers and insure the effectiveness of their actions; to reform the system for awarding promotions and filling leadership positions in order to make sure that these positions are filled by competent individuals; to eliminate all practices whereby public funds are spent in a wasteful manner; to publicize and make better use of the opinions of scholarly experts concerning the country's social and economic affairs; to acknowledge the right of the SZSP to freely express its views, including the right to do so in student newspapers.

It was also proposed that the state should pay more attention to fostering the nation's cultural heritage, its educational system and its arts and sciences by increasing its funding allocations in these areas and by permitting an overall increase in the number of published book titles and printing runs--especially so in the case of the more prominent works of Polish and world literature and also in the case of scholarly and research works--and by increasing the printing runs of newspapers and periodicals.

It was also demanded that questions of environmental protection should be taken seriously as one of the most important issues affecting the public health.

The representatives of the Krakow SZSP also sympathized with demands calling for the curtailment of censorship powers in order to make sure that these powers will not be used to restrict free criticism and free exchange of information and views.

Part three of the plenum's resolution discusses the whole range of issues pertaining to the system of higher education and to the status of university graduates and young families.

Demands were made calling for broadening of the self-governing powers of the colleges by passing amendments to the law on higher education which in its new form should spell out, among other things, the scope of the authority of the colleges governing bodies, running the gamut from those which act in an advisory advisory capacity to those which have decisionmaking powers; the reaching of a final agreement as to the number of student representatives that would be entitled to hold offices in the college administrations and as to the scope of their authority (their participation in this capacity would not be regarded as serving

any useful purpose until after a decision has been made to fulfill those demands calling for a redefinition of the powers of at least one-third of the members of the college governing boards, and the student representatives should be elected directly by the entire student body); making the positions of rector, dean and other officers of the university administration elective offices; the revision of the working rules of disciplinary and expulsion committees by proposing, among other things, the establishment of an office that will provide defense counsel for students called to account before such committees.

Demands were made calling for the adoption of the principle whereby the colleges would be given a free hand in the development of their curricula and educational policies, the reinstatement of the longer courses of study that used to exist, as well as for giving the colleges a larger say in the initiation of their own research programs; guarantees that would safeguard a fair and democratic university recruitment and admissions policy in keeping with the principle of an open admissions policy for all institutions of higher education, meaning that steps would be taken to abolish preference points, to put a stop to the practice whereby only "olympic athletes" do not have to take entrance exams to get into the universities, and to abolish special admissions and social-benefits privileges for children of officials working in those ministries which have guaranteed such privileges; giving students guaranteed access to all domestic and foreign learning resources; the broadening of the scholarship system and the determination of scholarship awards based on the findings of studies on the real costs a student will have to pay in order to get through college; the reservation of guaranteed spaces in student dormitories and cafeterias for all students who are in need; the complete overhauling of the student health care services system.

Demands were made calling for changes in the system of job placement services for college graduates, changes what would make it possible for this system to harness the genuine career and social ambitions of students in a totally efficient and fair manner; the adoption of decisions that would guarantee equitable conditions for the life and development of young families through the implementation of reasonable demands concerning the compensation of university graduates on a level that is commensurate with the average wage paid in a given industry; the improvement of housing conditions and the establishment of higher family supplemental income allowances; paid leaves of absence for child-care purposes, and the revision of the terms under which special loans are granted to young married couples.

Demands were also made calling the rewriting of the rules under which young people are recruited for positions on the university faculty.

The resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP closes with a demand calling for the passage of legislation that will define the role and authority of the SZSP in our sociopolitical life at the national level and in the universities. It was pointed out therefore that it is necessary, among other things, to more clearly delineate the powers of the college governing boards and the permanent membership parity for the student representatives that will sit on these boards and to guarantee that they will have a say in the selection of vice rectors and assistant deans responsible for student affairs.

The representatives of the Krakow university students' organization expressed the belief that this time their views will be carefully listened to and thoroughly examined.

The complete text of the resolution may be obtained from the Krakow Board or from the college councils of the SZSP.

We are presenting these views, which were hastily put into writing a couple of hours after the close of this plenum, in the hope that they will be studied more thoroughly two days from now (hence before the next issue of STUDENT goes to press) at the meeting of the Central Board of the SZSP in Uniejow and, more importantly, during the course of the community-wide debate that will precede the next Congress of the SZSP which will spell out these views and thoughts of the university student community in more concrete terms.

Meeting With Minister Gorski

Warsaw STUDENT (in Polish no 21, 23 Oct - 5 Nov 80 pp 3, 11)

[Article by Jarzy S. Latka]

(Text) I arrived at the last minute. The spacious lobby of the "Rotunda" Krakow Student Center was crowded with students. On the stairs two NZS [Independent Students' Association] officials were handing out leaflets entitled "concerning the Resolution of the Plenum of the Krakow Board of the SZSP." The meeting was being held in the theater of the student center. Every corner of space in front of the first few rows of seats was filled with students sitting right on the floor.

A diminutive woman student stepped up to the rostrum and was greeted with a round of applause by students wearing green NZS badges sitting in the first few rows of seats on the left side of the hall. "Since the organizers of this meeting are late, I am going to read for you the first issue of the Bulletin of the Independent Students' Association," she began standing a bit too far away from the microphone. Members of the audience shouted: "Louder!" Małgorzata Bator explained that she was too short to reach the microphone. She got her first ovation.

The organizers of the meeting together with their guests still were within their 15 minute grace period. But the NZS representative went on with her address. "There is no question of a coverup in any of this, rather the government really did not know what was going on in the country. How could it have known what was really happening? It won't have anything to do with any feedback that is not a mirror image of its own desires, and the only permissible feedback it gets consists of the insipid optimism broadcast by the official propaganda media...." At this point her address was interrupted by loud applause.

Much of what this NZS official (one of the more active ones) had to say consisted of a polemic with the SZSP. Namely, she claimed that the SZSP is an organization which has "usurped the right to represent all students," which is "dead as far as its pretensions to being a mass movement are concerned," which is nothing more than "a convenient rung on the ladder to success for career-minded people," an organization which has "arrogated to itself the right to run every aspect of university life," and so on and so forth.

The fact that the Krakow Board of the SZSP came out on 17 September with a very radical program of its own, a program which, as was borne out by the ensuing debate, was subscribed to as well by the representatives of the NZS, is also

displeasing to the authors of this statement. "It can of course be said that the 'winds of history' are accelerating the process of change and the development of a more mature consciousness and that within the immediately foreseeable future heretofore hidden layers of nonconformism and a truly impassioned interest in public affairs will be brought to light. But this is beside the point. As ever, the Board has gone about this in the following way. Namely, it has advocated a number of reforms on behalf of the student body without bothering to ask students what they have to say about this. We may believe in the sincerity of its intentions, but what will happen when the 'winds of history' blow in some other direction...."

Bator concluded her address with the following remarks: "We are probably the largest social group that is directly involved in cultural affairs. At this point it is entirely up to us as to how we are going to go participate in the movement dedicated to the renewal of our country's social life. But in order to do this we must create an entirely new kind of organization, and we must see to it that it will be possible to organize ourselves for the purpose of fostering a renewed sense of social activism. The identity of our goals does not presuppose the need for organizational unification. Quite the contrary, we are going our separate ways while preserving an awareness of our basic unity, but this is not the kind of unity that is imposed on us from above. The kind of unity that was rammed down our throats for so many years was a unity of silence and indifference, the unity of one voice speaking for us all. Let us learn how to speak up for ourselves!"

Once again, thunderous applause.

It was not until now that Maciej Brzezinski, chairman of the Krakow Board of the SZSP, was able to welcome the invited guests. The open meeting between the minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, Janusz Gorski, and the students of Krakow was called to order. The meeting was organized so that the ministry—speaking through its highest ranking official—could come before a broad cross-section of the student body and comment on the demands contained in the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP dated 17 September 1980. (We published an extensive commentary on this resolution in issue no 19 of STUDENT).

The minister expressed his sincere thanks for being invited to attend this meeting, although, as he put it, "invitations to meetings of this kind are not as welcome as they were a few months ago."

Professor Gorski talked about democracy and about respect for the views of others. "Professor Lipinski was my mentor and doctoral dissertation adviser." After a brief pause, so as to leave no doubt as to whom he was talking about, he explained: "That is, Edward Lipinski." Applause. "I collaborated with professor Lipinski up until the time of his retirement when I inherited from him the post of departmental chairman...." More applause.

Minister Gorski stressed that it would be a mistake to totally repudiate the accomplishments of the past 10 years. In 1970 the universities under the ministry's jurisdiction had a total of 1,800,000 square meters of floor space, whereas they now have 3,300,000 square meters of total floor space. In 1970 our student dormitories had room for 80,000 students, and in the last 10 years we have built enough student housing to make room for an additional 50,000 students. He went

on to cite more facts and figures about cafeterias, monetary outlays for higher education, scientific research, and employment. "My dear students, it is utterly out of the question to claim that we have been twiddling our thumbs during these past 10 years. A great deal has been accomplished in Poland during the past decade."

A little bit later, as if he were arguing with himself, minister Gorski pointed out that "the country's current economic situation is alarming."

From there he went to make the following remarks. "Just remember one thing. Namely, in the course of learning how democracy works, don't overwhelm the country by holding too many meetings." Continuing this theme, and here it seemed as though he was referring to Małgorzata Bator's speech, minister Gorski made the following point: "What we really need to do now is to carry on with our work in a responsible and calm manner, and in so doing we must learn how democracy works and strive for the implementation of the Gdańsk, Szczecin and Katowice agreements. We are going to carry out these agreements. At the present no one in Poland with any sense is going to believe that, after all of the shocks which our country has experienced lately, it would be impossible to go back to doing things the way we used to. We all realize that we are going to have to come up with new ways of doing things."

Referring to the aberrations that were brought to light in recent weeks, minister Gorski made the following statement: "We need to devise some specific institutional arrangements through the application of which we will finally be able to insure the proper functioning of our public life."

The above statement increased the minister's esteem in the eyes of the students. But this esteem lessened considerably--as was apparent from the spontaneous reaction of the audience--when the speaker went on to cite some statistics concerning the situation of the university in Krakow. Neither did the audience put any stock in the statement that the university is not all that bad off as far as its autonomy is concerned. Only the minister has the power to appoint the university's rector and vice rectors, and it is the rector himself who appoints the deans (laughter in the audience). The university has the sole responsibility for dealing with all other matters, including the awarding of academic degrees. It is true that there is a regulation which states that the minister or the premier can suspend an individual's candidacy for an academic degree, but there had only been one occasion in the last 10 years when the former exercised this authority. And during the same period there were only three occasions on which the premier suspended nominations for professorships (out of a total of more than 4,200 such nominations submitted during this period). Nor were any restrictions being imposed in the area of scholarly research, although it is true that problems have arisen in connection with the publication of some research findings.

The minister also had something to say about the university students' organization: "The SZSP has called attention to a number of problems concerning the improper functioning of the universities. The SZSP certainly has not made life very easy for us in the ministry."

Hour Number Two

Minister Gorski went on with his monologue. He raised the following question: "The problem is what are we going to do first...." "Establish order!" shouted the audience in reply. This was probably the first time the entire audience was in complete agreement, including the NZS and the SZSP. It finally came time to say something about the demands contained in the plenum resolution. There were two such demands concerning which a definite gap existed between the position of Minister Gorski and the feelings of the audience. Namely, the demands related to freedom of access to passports and the reinstatement of the former military training system. The minister concurred with and expressed his support for the other demands. He was of the opinion that these demands ought to be considered, but he also believed that some of them were worded in a manner that was too strident.

At this point the meeting was declared to be open for a general discussion. An SZSP representative referred to the minister's remarks about the shrillness of the resolution's demands and appealed to all of those attending this meeting in their capacity as representatives of the university student community to reformulate these demands in more concrete terms. The meeting was beginning to resemble a closely contested match between three teams of athletes. One of the teams, the NZS, was trying to score goals against two of the other opposing teams, the SZSP and, on occasion, minister Gorski, while the other team, the SZSP, was going after the minister. The minister listened and took notes.

Hour Number Three

Speaking in a monotone voice, the NZS representative returned once again to the origins of the NZS, which he believed to be a product of the atmosphere of general ennui that prevailed at the university. "Unfortunately, none of the initiatives presented within the forums of the university's institutes and departments, even those that were advanced by people who had nothing to do with the SZSP or who were not acting in concert with the SZSP, received any support from the student body, since they realized that at any moment they could be exploited for...." At this point he was interrupted by someone in the audience who yelled out: "I'm getting lost. We thought that you were going to give us some constructive suggestions. Get to the point...."

Then somebody else spoke up: "Direct your questions to the minister and not to...." The person who interrupted was drowned out by a din of competing voices, shouts, "bravos" and clapping.

There are many points on which the NZS program is in agreement with the resolution of the SZSP. The NZS program is more precise than the Krakow Board's declaration in calling for "free access to all library and archival collections." No sooner did he finish stating this demand than he was backed up a round of thunderous applause given simultaneously by members of both the NZS and the SZSP.

Maciej Brzezinski then invited other members of the audience who were of a mind to do so to take the floor. He knows most of the members of the NZS founding committee who are on the offensive against the SZSP. They were all free to speak. Only once did Brzezinski express any reservations on this score. "I have here a request to address the meeting submitted by Mr Borzecki who is, I presume, a member of the 'Solidarity' Independent Self-governing Trade Unions. I would like to remind him that this is a students' meeting...."

However, Borzecki, completely undaunted, made his way up on to the stage and informed the audience in a loud voice that he had been chosen to attend this meeting by the Inter-factory Founding Committee with the right to speak out whenever the scope of the issues under discussion touched upon problems which are of concern to the "Solidarity" movement. He made it known that the Inter-factory Founding Committee of the "Solidarity" Independent Self-governing Trade Unions supports the NZS (even though it could not agree with all of the provisions of the NZS statutes), since the circumstances of its formation and its goals are to a certain extent in line with the demands of the "Solidarity" movement. He praised the resolution of the SZSP; it is apparent, he said, that the authors of this resolution "were sincerely concerned about the welfare of this nation and the welfare of the working people." The centralized structure of the SZSP calls into question its ability to cooperate with "Solidarity." The Inter-factory Founding Committee is of the opinion that the SZSP should collaborate with the NZS, but "only insofar as it proves to be possible to formulate a realistic joint program and to carry out that program by means of a joint effort." Hence also the suggestion that—if these talks with the minister are supposed to be at all meaningful—all of the interested parties should be allowed to take part in these talks. He also mentioned that in Krakow there exists a group made of several thousand university faculty members and members of the Polish Academy of Sciences that is affiliated with the "Solidarity" Independent Self-governing Trade Unions. However, he also observed that any attempt to call a student strike during the current phase of these talks "would inevitably meet with the resolute condemnation of the everyone associated with 'Solidarity.'"

Hour Number Four

The caustic comments uttered by Dariusz Adamek (of the SZSP) and directed at the previous speaker elicited both jeers and shouts from the audience. Brzezinski called the speaker to order. The hall calmed down again. Adamek went on to discuss some specific issues. "It is all very well and good that we should want to penalize those who have committed economic offenses, but what kinds of penalties are we going to impose on those who have committed offenses in the realm of scholarship and learning, people who are responsible for authorizing improper promotions and for petty personal rivalries, the same people who have acted as advisers to our economic and party leaders? Scholarship ought to be synonymous with the truth. In the meantime there have been all too many cases, especially so in the social sciences in general and in the field of sociology in particular, where the truth has been twisted to conform to personal biases." The speaker went on to talk about the learning environment of medical students. "I personally would not be surprised if some day students stopped showing up for their pharmacy classes. Without exception, there is not a single pharmaceutical lecture hall or laboratory that is not in violation of basic health regulations."

Hour Number Five

Henryk Martenka, head of the College Council of the SZSP at Jagiellonian University: "I would like to share with you an item of news with I just received from a member of the audience. Colleagues! I just received the following news. Speaking on behalf of the SZSP at Jagiellonian University, I feel that in relating this news I will be expressing the joy and enthusiasm felt by all of us. Polish Radio has just announced that this year's Nobel Prize for Literature was awarded to...Czeslaw Milosz!"

The two thousand students in the auditorium of the "Rotunda" went wild with joy. This announcement was followed by several minutes of euphoric pandemonium.

Martenka moved that this mass meeting should be adjourned and that plans should be made for conducting an issues-oriented debate with government representatives. The debate would be broadcast over the university's closed-circuit television to the "Rotunda" theater. Problems arose in connection with NZS representation. It was proposed that the delegation participating in the debate should be made up of an equal number of representatives from the SZSP and the NZS. However, the NZS members declare that they have not been authorized by the student body to take part in such a debate, so they decline to participate in these talks.

The discussion drags on. More statements, more demands. Would it not be possible to give the students refunds on the fees they paid for membership in health service cooperatives? Would it not be possible to place books, newspapers and printed matter on the "list of specially controlled goods" so that faculty members and students could also take part in the work of the committee on higher education? Statements were made on the subject of the status of young families and, above all, the status of young mothers. Demands were made calling for the repeal of the decree dating back to 1960 which states that the rector can dissolve student organizations and enforce changes in their statutes. For its part the NZS had more to say about problems related to the copying of printed materials and about grievances directed against the minister concerning the handling of the June 1980 letter of the Academic Renewal Movement.

Hour Number Six

Tomasz Szczypinski, vice chairman of the Karkow Board of the SZSP: "The entire student body is in agreement with the demands that were submitted. We knew all about this, but we also wanted to convince minister Gorski of this. During the course of this meeting nothing has been said to indicate that any particular item on this list of demands is not without merit. The only problem was how to decide who is going to carry out these demands. Is it going to be this group or that group, or maybe a third party? The question as to what the structure of the university student organizations is going to look like is our business. This issue did not necessarily have to be dragged into the forum of a meeting with minister Gorski. The emphasis on the divisions that exist within the student community is not going to have a positive effect on our talks."

Applause. Szczypinski moved that the meeting should be adjourned in order to make it possible to move on to a discussion of concrete issues. But the meeting went on.

Hour Number Seven

Minister Gorski took the floor once more. He commented on the demands that were raised during the discussion period, and once again, addressing each issue item by item and speaking more precisely and concretely, he discussed the feasibility of implementing the demands contained in the resolution of 17 September. The steady drone of his monologue was suddenly interrupted by a woman student speaking in an excited voice. Her statement was rambling and incoherent, interrupted again

and again by approving applause from the entire audience. "Eversince I was born I have always heard people saying: 'things will get better,' 'a complex problem has arisen, 'the people need to be advised about this or that,' 'the meeting was conducted in a business-like atmosphere.' I don't want to change the system. I know that the present situation is very difficult.... I don't want too many rights. What I'm concerned about is my self-respect as a student. What I want is order so I will have a chance to figure out what really matters.... You, sir, keep talking about society in general. I have been listening to people talk about society in general for 20 years.... I am always wondering why I never managed to fit in as a member of society in general? You are saying that we share certain interests in common. Regardless of how it may sound, I am not making fun of what you are saying. I even agree with what you are saying. I even sympathize with you. I really am a hard-working person. You can find out for yourself that this is so. I have nothing but straight 'A's' in my index.... I am not out to make a lot of money after I graduate.... I am a good seamstress, so I can always find something to do in that line. All I really want is for people ... quit trying to deceive me in such a disgraceful manner."

She fell silent just as suddenly as she began. This was followed by a few moments of genuine silence, whereupon professor Gorski continued with his statement, this time speaking in an even more weary voice.

Hour Number Eight

The meeting finally broke up. Minister Gorski and his attendants adjourned to the conference room for an item-by-item discussion of how to go about fulfilling all these demands.

The meeting in the conference room went on for another two hours, whereupon minister Gorski finally left the building.

P.S.

Some of the people I interviewed who are from Gdansk accused me of being dishonest since I did not sign my real name to the article published in the last issue of STUDENT and entitled "University on Strike." I used the pseudonym "Jerzy Siemko" instead. The reason for my decision to use this pseudonym had to do with the fact that 19 lines of the text for this article were deleted without my knowledge.

Communiqué on Meeting

Warsaw STUDENT in Polish No 21, 23 Oct - 5 Nov 80 p 11

(Communiqué on talks held between representatives of the Krakow SZSP organization, the minister of science, higher education and technology, professor Janusz Gorski, and representatives of other ministries with administrative responsibilities in the system of higher education for the purpose of determining the procedures and deadlines for the fulfillment of the demands contained in the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP dated 17 September 1980)

* The article the author speaks of is published in JPRS 76945 No 1832 of this series 5 Dec 80, p 55 entitled "INDEPENDENT STUDENT ASSOCIATION FORMED"

[Text] On 9 October 1980 in the theater of the "Rotunda" Krakow Student Center an open meeting was held attended by students and young faculty members. The meeting was organized by the SZSP organization in Krakow. During the meeting the minister of science, higher education and technology, professor Janusz Gorski, responded to the demands of the Krakow University student body as set forth in the earlier resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP and to other demands that were raised during the meeting. During the second half of this meeting, in the course of bilateral talks with representatives of the Krakow organization of the SZSP, the following conclusions were reached concerning the procedures and deadlines for handling the problems that were brought to light.

I. The Sociopolitical Situation in Poland

1. The minister, as a representative of the government, cannot take stands on the laws governing elections to the Sejm and the national councils. The Krakow organization of the SZSP has decided to submit its demands on this issue directly to the Sejm.

2. Concerning the demands set forth in section II, items 2 through 9, 12 and 15 with reference to: the rotation of public officeholders, administrative personnel, the improper expenditure of public funds, the analysis of the performance of the justice system, censorship powers, the utilization of scholarly expertise, and support for the nation's cultural institutions and environmental protection the minister gave an account of the work that has been accomplished to date in these areas on a national scale and of the ministry's contributions to this work. He expressed the view that he possesses no authority to make any commitments on any of these issues. The fulfillment of these demands is taking place on the basis of the Gdansk Agreements and the resolutions of the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee through the legislative initiatives already taken and through the pledges made by the government, concerning which the student community will be further informed.

3. In reference to item 14 concerning the process of reform within the PZPR the minister discussed the results of the Sixth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and, speaking as a party member, expressed the firm belief that this process will unfold in a better and more consistent manner.

4. In reference to item 10 of the resolution adopted by the Krakow Board of the SZSP the minister leaves it up to the student body itself as to how it wants to deal with the problem of an independent student press. This view is not shared by the Krakow organization of the SZSP, which stresses that the independence of the student press is contingent upon the general system of laws governing publishing activity in the PRL.

5. With regard to changes in the military training program for university students and graduates (item 13) the minister once again stated that he is in agreement with the currently prevailing laws on this subject. He would only commit himself to conducting an investigation into the substantive merits of the existing military training programs. This position was not accepted by the other side. The Krakow organization of the SZSP decided to relay its views on this problem to the Ministry of National Defense and to urge that a meeting should be held between representatives of the Ministry of National Defense and the SZSP.

6. In reference to item 11 of section II concerning free access to passports it was resolved that, given the conflicting views of the two sides on this matter, within 7 days after receiving a written statement of the position of the Krakow organization of the SZSP on this issue, the minister would relay this message to the minister of internal affairs.

II. Concerning Points 1, 2, and 3 of Section III--the Universities, Graduates and Young Families

This is in reference to the proposals concerning the autonomy of the universities, the powers of university governing boards, the definition of the role of student representatives in university administrations, and giving the universities a free hand in development of their curriculums. On these issues the participants in the meeting reached a general consensus of opinion that was in accordance with the resolution of the Krakow Board of the SZSP. Nothing could be done to reach a consensus on the question of whether or not to give the students the right to vote for the candidate of their choice for the position of vicerector for student affairs. Adhering to the view that university administrative officers should be elected by the university senate, the minister pledged that he would include this proposal of the Krakow organization of the SZSP in the draft version of a new law on higher education. This draft law will be submitted for general debate in the universities by no later than the end of December 1980, and the projected deadline for submitting this bill to the Sejm will be set for the end of June 1981.

1. In reference to the question as to whether or not the time limit on the duration of university studies should be extended it was concluded that the availability of social and welfare services is the only factor that imposes any restrictions on the duration of these studies. After consulting with the minister of finance, minister Gorski will present an official reply to the question concerning the extension of the time limit for the duration of university studies in technical colleges by the end of November 1980, and he will submit a proposal calling for the introduction of a five-year course of studies in the liberal arts disciplines.

2. In reference to the proposed changes in university admissions policy the minister promised that he would submit these proposals for a general debate by no later than 30 November 1980 and that they would thereafter be placed on the agenda of official government deliberations. A final decision on these matters should be made by no later than 15 January 1981. The minister advised that on 1 October 1981 Poland's first Open University would open its doors in Warsaw.

3. Concerning the restrictions on access to learning resources the minister pledged that he would clarify this problem and present some recommended solutions by 10 November 1980.

4. In reference to proposed changes in the scholarship system the minister declared that he is willing to give every consideration to any proposal for a new system that is developed within the university student community, provided that it does not exceed the state's financial capabilities. A study group made up of students attending the Main School of Planning and Statistics was appointed for the purpose of conducting investigations into the living conditions of students and young faculty members. The results of these studies would be submitted to a general debate in the student press once every quarter.

5. In reference to the demands set forth in section III (items 9, 10 and 12) concerning the establishment by 31 October 1980 of an equitable system of job placement services and guaranteed fair wage levels it was decided that, with the consent of the minister of labor, wages and social affairs, a team of experts would be appointed which would present specific proposals in this area by 30 March 1981 (including, *inter alia*, proposals for an amendment to the laws on mandatory employment and for the establishment of a fixed entry-level wage rate). The minister instructed the universities to adopt a policy whereby young faculty members are to be recruited on the basis of open competitive applications. On the other hand, pending the revision of the Labor Code, the minister will submit separate proposals for dealing with the problem of doctoral candidates.

6. In reference to proposed changes in the status of postgraduate study programs the minister advised that postgraduate scholarships would be increased by Zl 600 during the first year of postgraduate studies and by Zl 1,200 for all subsequent years of postgraduate study, and he pledged that by no later than 30 November 1980 he would review and submit a binding and official response in writing to the other questions raised in the resolution adopted at a meeting of representatives of the Krakow University postgraduate student body held on 8 October 1980.

7. In reference to the problem of insuring that everyone in need would have access to university housing and meal services the minister declared that the ministry has committed itself to a capital construction program that will insure the fulfillment of this demand. At the same time, he observed that right now, in view of Poland's economic situation, there is no way that the fulfillment of this demand can be speeded up. The SZSP did not accept this assessment and obtained assurances from the minister that the provisions of this program would be submitted to the SZSP for review by no later than 15 November 1980. The SZSP will then take steps aimed at encouraging the government to adopt decisions that would accelerate the process of fulfilling these demands.

8. In connection with the deficiencies that exist in the university food services establishment and the need to come up with a prompt solution to this problem the minister pledged that by 31 December 1980 funds would be made available for the purpose of furnishing students with supplemental meal allowances enabling them to take their meals in off-campus restaurants run by the Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative "Spolem." After the rules for implementing this food services program are worked out by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Technology, the Voivodship Consumers' Cooperative "Spolem," and the SZSP, the minister promised that he would provide assistance for the purpose of setting up separate food service facilities for Krakow University students with special dietary needs by 31 October 1980.

9. With a view to making a thorough study of and recommending changes in the duties performed by the Krakow University health service a special working group will be appointed by 30 November 1980, with the consent of the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, which by no later than 31 January 1981 will submit and implement proposals designed to enhance the efficiency of the university health service.

10. The minister reported on the thrust of the work being done by the government in the area of providing aid to young families, and he pledged that he would review and present to the government the demands that were made in this regard by the SZSP.

On behalf of the Krakow Board of the SZSP,
Maciej Brzezinski, chairman of the Krakow Board of the SZSP [signed]

Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology,
professor, Dr hab Janusz Gorski [signed]

11813
CSO: 2600

POLAND

FRG HISTORY TEXTBOOKS CRITICIZED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Nov 80 p 6

[Article by Janusz Moszczenski: "Noncompliance with Instructions on FRG Textbooks and Maps"]

[Text] Compliance with Polish-West German instructions on textbooks is justly regarded as a litmus-paper test of the actual implementation of the basic resolutions contained in the treaty concluded by the PPR and FRG in December, 1970.

Ten years after this important document on normalization of relations between our countries was signed, and four years after the agreement on cultural cooperation, in which Art 4 states that both parties "will work towards implementation of textbook instructions," let us briefly review one of the most important aspects of this problem. Let us attempt to respond to the question--to what degree have these instructions been followed in FRG history and geography books.

A research team from the G. Eckert School Book Institute in Brunswick conducted a study on 100 textbooks. The results of the study filled almost 300 typed pages. One of its final conclusions was that insofar as specific changes are concerned, the effect of the instructions on the text of the books is absolutely undiscernable. Positive changes can be detected only in the quantitative sense, and even that, only to a small degree.

Let us closely examine some materials on Poland and Polish-German relations from several publishers, which, in principle, indicate a willingness to at least partially comply with the instructions.

The history textbook "Fragen an die Geschichte" ("History Questions," Hirschgraben Publ, Frankfurt am Main, 1978), approved for school use in four FRG Laender, is an example of a new publication which has expanded the scope of information on Polish-German relations and contains some small changes in interpretation of pertinent events. In the introduction it mentions the role of PPR-FRG relations and devotes a separate subsection to them. But unfortunately its authors, too, did not guard against wordings that deviate

from the stipulations contained in the instructions. Instruction No 22, relating to the relocation of the German people, was only partially complied with, applying, among other things, the term "expulsion" (*Vertreibung*), used by the retaliationists.

There is no map in the textbook that shows Poland's present boundaries only. But such revisionist concepts are contained as the "German eastern regions" or the "Oder-Neisse line," which undoubtedly give the student the impression that the boundaries are temporary and have not been permanently fixed. The December 1970 PPR-FRG treaty is erroneously described several times as "an agreement renouncing force," which may lead one to believe that it does not signify final recognition by the FRG of the Oder-Neisse boundary. Also, one of the tables published in the textbook cites false data, based on disinformation disseminated by compatriots and other retaliationist organizations, on the number of Germans allegedly living in the PPR.

The text and choice of information on Poland and Polish-German relations in the textbook "Die Reise in die Vergangenheit" ("Journey into the Past", published by Westermann, Brunswick, 1974), approved for use in five Laender schools, to a large degree interprets historical events in compliance with the instructions. But although the book cites the full text of the 1970 PPR-FRG treaty, the publisher still uses dual boundary markings, showing the 1937 German boundaries also.

Similar positive and negative comments must be made about the textbooks "Geschichtliche Weltkunde", Diesterweg Publ, Frankfurt am Main, 1976) and "Spiegel der Zeiten", ("A Reflection of the Times", Diesterweg, 1976) used in six Laender. In both textbooks, information on pre-War Polish-German relations has been expanded in compliance with the spirit of the instructions, but the stereotypes and statements conflicting with the instructions are still there. In the latter publication, for example, the resettlement of the German population from Poland is compared with the displacement of Poles during the Nazi occupation, the direct implication being that there was no difference between them.

So much for the textbooks, whose publishers and authors doubtless showed some willingness to comply with the instructions. As concerns such books as "Zeiten und Menschen" ("Times and People", Schoenig-Schroedel Publ, Paderborn), "Menschen in ihrer Zeit" ("People and Their Times", Klett Publ, Stuttgart, 1976), and others, the list of charges is much longer and more serious. Newspaper space limitations simply do not allow discussion of them.

Let us comment, however, on "Diercke Weltatlas" (Westermann Publ, Brunswick, 1977), an atlas approved for use in all types of schools in all of the FRG. In this atlas, contrary to instructions, boundaries are dual marked throughout, i.e., next to the Oder-Neisse boundary is a dotted line showing the boundary of the German Reich in 1937. This applies to political maps as well as to the subject and survey maps. This dotted line appears on 44 maps in the atlas. It fails to appear on only one map and on the world maps. Only on a few maps do the place names appear in two languages. On the

remaining, only German names appear. It should be noted that the introduction states that this atlas "was developed in compliance with the guidelines of the individual ministries of education" of the FRG Laender.

Compliance with instructions for textbooks used on the Rhine, developed jointly by PPR-FRG educators, is obviously far from adequate. It fully confirms the correctness of the previously mentioned study made in Brunswick.

It is time that the gravity of this problem be recognized in Bonn and in the capitals of the individual Laender, especially those ruled by the Christian Democratic Party (CDU), and that the instructions be rapidly implemented. Perhaps then the publishers, too, will agree to publish textbooks that comply with the instructions and will not be afraid that they will not be approved for school use.

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CSO: 2600

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS DECREE ON ALTERNATE SERVICE FOR CONSCRIPTS

Warsaw DZIENNIK USTAW in Polish No 23, 30 Oct 80, item 87 pp 245-249

("Decree of Council of Ministers of 29 September 1980 Concerning
Alternate Service for Conscripts")

[Text] On the basis of article 142, paragraph 2, of the law of 21 November 1967 concerning the universal obligation of defending the Polish People's Republic (Dz. U. [DZIENNIK USTAW], 1979, No 18, item lli), the following is decreed:

Section I

The Procedure for Referring Conscripts to Alternate Service and the Method of Performing It

1.1. Conscripts destined at their request for alternate service for conscripts, known below as "alternate service," are referred for the performance of this service:

- 1) to social establishments of the health service, in particular to health care teams, industrial health care teams, specialized health care teams and health care teams for higher schools, to voivodship central hospitals and to voivodship specialized hospitals,
- 2) to social aid establishments, particularly establishments for the chronically ill and for the mentally handicapped,
- 3) to organizational units whose activity is associated with the protection of water and the atmosphere, and protection of agricultural and forest soil,
- 4) to public utility establishments, particularly institutions for cleaning cities, urban communication establishments, water and sewage establishments, to enterprises of the urban economy rendering services for making repairs for the people, to road and bridge agencies performing

work within cities, to heat and power generating plants and to electric power plants providing the populace with heat energy and electrical energy, and to postal and telecommunication offices.

2. With the stipulation of paragraph 3 and section 2, paragraph 2, conscripts are assigned to perform alternate service in establishments located in a place of permanent residence or of temporary residence for conscripts, lasting more than 2 months, designated below as "place of residence," or in establishments to which a daily trip to work is possible.

3. While billeted (section 8), conscripts can perform alternate service in establishments different from those defined in paragraph 2.

2.i. In accord with the guidelines of the Minister of National Defense, the chief of the voivodship military staffs will annually determine the number of conscripts who may be assigned to perform alternate service.

2. In conjunction with the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs will determine the number of conscripts who can perform alternate service in establishments located outside of voivodship territory, in which there are places of residence for conscripts.

3. On the basis of proposals from establishments and within the framework of determinations spoken of in paragraphs 1 and 2, local organs of state administration on the voivodship level determine the number of conscripts who can perform alternate service in various establishments, and communicate this to the chiefs of the voivodship military staffs of the voivodships within whose territory conscripts will be assigned to alternate service, and also local organs of state administration on a subordinate level with respect to the headquarters of these establishments.

4. The number of conscripts who can be assigned to perform alternate service in establishments subject to the Minister of National Defense will be determined by the chiefs of the voivodship military staffs.

5. The military recruiting commanders will transmit to the organs of state administration on the basic level, with due regard for the place of residence of conscripts, lists of the names of conscripts assigned to perform alternate service, at the same time presenting the number of conscripts available for this service in individual establishments.

3.1. A conscript is referred to alternate service:

1) by the local organ of state administration on the basic level with due regard to the place of residence of the conscript or

2) by the pertinent military recruiting commander, if the service is to be performed in an establishment subject to the Minister of National Defense.

2. A conscript is assigned to alternate service by means of a personal notice delivered with return receipt requested. This notice defines the obligation of presenting oneself for service on the designated date and in the designated establishment. The director of the establishment, in which the conscript is to perform alternate service, is notified of the notice.

3. A conscript can be assigned to alternate service no later than the last day of the calendar year in which he becomes 24 years old, but if the assignment could not be made during this time for reasons defined in article 42, paragraph 2, of the law of 21 November 1967 on the universal obligation of defending the Polish People's Republic (Dz. U., 1979, No 18, item III), designated below as the "law," no later than the last day of the calendar year in which he becomes 28 years old.

4. The organ which assigns the conscript to alternate service guarantees the conscript free transportation from his place of residence to the place of performing the service.

4.0. A conscript assigned to perform alternate service, against whom penal proceedings are in progress, can be assigned to this service if the public prosecutor or judge have not placed him under temporary arrest.

5.1. The establishment will send the conscript, who has reported to perform alternate service, to a preliminary medical examination.

2. The establishment will permit the conscript to perform work after conscript training in the area of labor safety and sanitation and after ascertaining that he demonstrates satisfactory acquaintance with their regulations and principles, and necessary skillfulness in performing this work.

3. The director of the establishment will assign the conscript a working post in conformity with his vocational skills and the results of medical examination.

6.1. Non-appearance of the conscript within the designated time to perform alternate service is justifiable if he was not able to appear within this time because of illness attested to by a medical certificate from an establishment of the social health service.

2. A conscript must immediately notify the establishment of the impossibility of appearing within the designated time for performing alternate service.

3. The director of the establishment can accept as justified a delay, not exceeding 2 days, in the appearance of the conscript to perform alternate service under particularly justified circumstances different from those defined in paragraph 1.

7.0. If a conscript does not appear within the designated time to perform alternate service and does not give notification of the cause of his non-appearance, the director of the establishment will notify the organ which assigned the conscript to the alternate service.

8.0. In concord with the local organ of state administration on the voivodship level, the establishment can billet (quarter in a body) conscripts performing alternate service.

9.1. During the performance of alternate service, the regulations concerning principles for justification of worker absence at work and being late for work will be applied in justifying the absence or tardiness of conscripts for work or for tasks within the framework of defense training.

2. If a conscript does not report to work and does not notify the establishment of the cause of his absence within the time defined in the regulations spoken of in paragraph 1, the director of the establishment must immediately notify the organ, which assigned him to the work, of the conscript's interruption in the performance of his alternate service.

10.1. If the conscript is unable to work because of illness lasting at least 3 months, the director of the establishment is obligated to inform the military recruiting commander, with authority at the place of residence of the conscript, of this fact. The military recruiting commander will send the conscript to the regional conscript commission, and if this commission does not do so, to the military medical commission for the purpose of determining the ability of the conscript to perform military service.

2. If, during the working period, the alternate has become ill or suffered an accident, and was sent to the hospital, the establishment will immediately notify a member of legal age of his immediate family of this.

11.1. On the proposal of the director of the establishment, the conscript can be assigned to perform alternate service in another establishment, spoken of in section 1, paragraph 1, if this is justified by the essential personal qualities of the conscript or by the organizational conditions of the establishment.

2. The decision concerning the transfer of a conscript to another establishment is made by the organ which assigned him to the service, in agreement with the director of the establishment to which the conscript will be assigned. The military recruiting commander will be notified of the transfer if the transfer is made by the organ spoken of in section 3, paragraph 1, point 1.

Section 2

Obligations and Rights of Conscripts Performing Alternate Service

12.1. The conscript is obliged to fulfill his alternate service in an exemplary and conscientious way, to heed work discipline and to apply, in matters referring to work, the service recommendations of the director of the establishment and of the workers authorized by him.

2. The conscript is particularly obliged to:

- 1) try to achieve the best possible results in his work,
- 2) to heed the times of work set in the enterprise and to use this time in a very effective way,
- 3) to heed work regulations and the order set up in the establishment,
- 4) to take care of establishment property, to protect the possessions of the establishment and to use them in conformity with his assignment,
- 5) to heed the regulations and principles of labor safety and sanitation, as well as the fire regulations,
- 6) to maintain state and service secrets,
- 7) to participate in defense training,
- 8) to obey the regulations established during billeting,
- 9) to heed the principles of community life.

3. If the conscript neglects his obligations or infringes upon the order set up in the establishment and work discipline, the director of the establishment can give the conscript a reprimand and, if the reprimand is not effective, reduce the length of his periodic furlough and also warn him of the penal responsibility established in article 218, paragraph 2, point 2 of the law.

13.1. From the establishment in which he is fulfilling alternate service, the conscript is entitled to:

- 1) a full day's free food or a financial equivalent,
- 2) free protective and working clothing and personal protective equipment in conformity with the obligatory norms in the given establishment,
- 3) a salary at a height and according to the principles anticipated for troops performing basic military service,

- 4) a financial equivalent for clothing,
- 5) compensation according to principles anticipated for workers who are paid from the planned personal wage fund,
- 6) free quartering during billeting time,
- 7) free monthly travel tickets to travel from the place of residence of the conscript to the establishment and return,
- 8) social financial benefits from the establishment social fund.

2. Under justified circumstances the establishment can allot the conscript benefits from the establishment residential fund.

3. The conscript is entitled to financial dues and benefits, spoken of in paragraph 1, during the time he performs work, and also for times of furlough and release from work, and justified absence from work.

4. The conscript enjoys the right to use the social facilities in accord with the principles established for workers.

5. During temporary performance of work outside the site of the establishment, the conscript is entitled to dues from the establishment in accord with principles determined in the regulations for travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

6. The conscript performing work under conditions harmful for health or under particularly arduous conditions is entitled to a bonus for performing this work under the principles determined for workers performing the same work.

7. The Minister of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs defines:

- 1) the food norms and the amount of the financial equivalent, spoken of in paragraph 1, point 1, in agreement with the Minister of Domestic Trade and Services and with the Minister of Finances,
- 2) the amount of the financial equivalent, spoken of in paragraph 1, point 4, and the principles of its payment, in agreement with the Minister of Finances.

14.0. A conscript, who conscientiously performs his obligations, can be allotted a monthly premium amounting to 25 percent of the average monthly basic compensation of workers employed in the positions at which the same or suitable work is performed, by the director of the establishment.

15.1. A conscript working at night is entitled to 15 percent of the average hourly rate of basic compensation for workers employed in the positions in which the same or similar work is performed, for each hour of this work.

2. In return for time worked on the recommendation of the director of the establishment above the establishment norms for working time, the conscript is entitled to the same amount of time off of work.

16.1. The establishment is obliged to enable the conscript to participate in exercises organized within the framework of defense training.

2. The conscript can attend a school for workers, as well as professional courses or training, if he obtains permission from the establishment in which he is performing alternate service.

3. A conscript, spoken of in paragraph 2, is entitled to the rights defined in the regulations for workers studying in their time away from work, for school leave and for lump sums to travel to school.

17.1. With the stipulations of section 12, paragraph 3, a conscript is entitled to a periodic furlough lasting 7 days in the first year of alternate service and 10 days in the second year of service.

2. In the first year of alternate service the establishment can grant the conscript a periodic furlough after he has performed service for at least 6 months.

3. If a conscript whose length of periodic furlough has been reduced perfectly fulfills his obligations for a period of at least 3 months, as mentioned in section 12, paragraphs 1 and 2, the director of the establishment can grant him a periodic furlough of full length.

4. If a conscript has not used his periodic furlough completely or partially because of temporary incapacity to work as a result of illness, the establishment can grant him the unused furlough at a later time.

5. During the performance of alternate service away from his place of residence or in an establishment to which he cannot travel to work every day, the establishment will cover the travel costs of the conscript for a periodic furlough from the place where he is performing service to his place of residence and return, in accord with the principles defined in regulations concerning travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

18.1. A conscript is entitled to a furlough by reason of being an honorary blood donor at the rate of 1 day for each 200 ml of blood given.

2. The establishment can grant the conscript a furlough, spoken of in paragraph 1, along with a periodic furlough.

19.1. A conscript deserves emergency furlough because of:

- 1) marriage of the conscript,
- 2) the birth of a child of the conscript,
- 3) the death and funeral of a member of the family or the death and funeral of another person supported by the conscript or under his direct care, according to principles defined in regulations for workers,
- 4) serious illness of a member of the family of the conscript or another person, spoken of in point 3, if the conscript cannot visit them during his time off of work because of the place where the alternate service is being performed.

2. The establishment can also grant a conscript an emergency furlough in cases different from those mentioned in paragraph 1, if this is justified by important personal considerations or considerations of the family of the conscript.

3. Under the circumstances defined in paragraphs 1 and 2, the establishment will grant an emergency furlough for up to 3 days, unless special circumstances justify the granting of a longer furlough, but one not lasting longer than 5 days.

4. In case it is necessary for an alternate to travel to another community for reasons defined in paragraph 1, the establishment will cover the costs of travel for the conscript to this community and return in accord with principles defined in regulations concerning travel allowances and other dues for service travel time within the country.

5. In other cases not mentioned in paragraphs 1 and 2, the conscript is entitled to be released from work according to principles defined in regulations concerning workers.

20.0. A conscript performing alternate service is entitled to free medical services and a free supply of medicines, first-aid resources, necessary prostheses and resources to prevent deformation and lameness.

21.1. The establishment will give a certificate certifying to the acquisition of qualifications to a conscript who has achieved definite professional qualifications during his performance of alternate service.

2. At the request of the conscript, the establishment will provide a certificate certifying to the period and type of work performed during the performance of alternate service.

22.1. If the establishment infringes on the rights of the conscript resulting from the performance of alternate service, he can lodge a grievance with the establishment director.

2. The establishment director is obliged to examine the grievance of the conscript after a hearing and to give him a written answer within 14 days.

3. If his grievance is not considered, a conscript can, within 7 days from the day of receiving an answer as mentioned in paragraph 2, address himself to the director of the unit above the establishment, which will make the final decision on the matter and notify the position occupied by the conscript and the director of the establishment no later than 30 days.

4. Matters concerning repayment for damage caused by the establishment to property of the conscript are examined according to the principles and procedure anticipated for workers.

23.0. In determining the amount of posthumous compensation due to the members of the family of the conscript, there will be consideration of financial dues mentioned in section 13, paragraph 1, points 1, 3, 4 and 5, and paragraph 6, in sections 14 and 15, except that the basic amount of compensation cannot be less than the lowest basic compensation for workers employed in the socialized economy for a full monthly period of work.

Section 3

Discharge from Alternate Service for Conscripts

24.1. The day of discharge from alternate service is the day in which a period of 24 months of service is completed, taking section 26 into consideration.

2. The director of the establishment, 7 days before the time of discharge of conscripts from alternate service, will establish a list of these conscripts and send it to the military recruiting commander with authority in their place of residence.

3. On the last day of the performance of alternate service, the director of the establishment will give the conscript a notice for the military recruiting commander, defining the day of discharge of the conscript from service.

4. The military recruiting commander, in assigning the conscript to the reserves, will record the date of discharge from service in the personal military documentation of the conscript.

25.1. If, on the last day of performance of alternate service, the conscript is undergoing treatment in a social establishment of the health

service, he will be discharged from service after the conclusion of the treatment, but not later than 3 months after the day on which the conscript was subject to release from this service, but if the treatment is the result of an accident occurring in connection with the performance of the alternate service, not later than after the passage of 6 months. On the written request of the conscript, he may be discharged from alternate service before the completion of these periods.

2. After the conclusion of the treatment, a conscript spoken of in paragraph 1 will be sent by the military recruiting commander to the regional conscript commission, and if this commission does not act, to the military medical commission for the purpose of determining the capacity of the conscript for military service. A conscript found capable of military service is transferred to the reserves.

26.1. Unjustified absence, lasting at least 1 day, is not counted in the period of performance of alternate service. However, the director of an establishment can include in the period of performance of this service unjustified absence of up to 3 days per year, if the conscript then distinguishes himself by a high degree of discipline and good work results.

2. The period of performing alternate service will not include a period of:

- 1) temporary arrest, unless the conscript was acquitted or the penal process against him was dropped,
- 2) performance of a basic or alternate sentence of confinement.

27.0. In a special case, justified by family or personal circumstances, a conscript who has completed at least 18 months of alternate service can, at his request, approved by the director of the establishment, be discharged from further performance and transferred to the reserves.

28.0. Under special circumstances, justified by the conditions of alternate service, a conscript can be discharged from this service before its completion and assigned to basic military service or basic service in civil defense, at the suggestion of the director of the establishment, for the period remaining before the completion of 24 months of service.

29.1. A conscript, who has been subjected to temporary arrest, is discharged from alternate service:

- 1) after completing 3 months of temporary confinement,
- 2) at the time when the conscript would have been subject to discharge from the service, if the temporary confinement occurred after 21 months of service had been performed by him.

2. The conscript is transferred to the reserves in the case mentioned in paragraph 1, point 2.

3. The military recruiting commander notifies the judge or public prosecutor, under whom the conscript remains during his confinement, of the discharge of the conscript from alternate service in cases mentioned in paragraph 1.

30.1. The conscript is discharged from alternate service before its completion and transferred to the reserves, if the discharge occurred:

1) in connection with a need for him to exercise immediate care over a member of the family or to run a farm, or on recognition of the conscript as the only support of the family, when he has performed service for a period of at least 12 months,

2) in connection with instructions concerning his fulfillment of a sentence depriving him of freedom, including an alternate sentence, or a summons to serve a sentence of confinement exceeding 1 month, when he has completed service for a period of at least 21 months.

2. A conscript is discharged from alternate service before its completion without being transferred to the reserves, if the discharge occurs:

1) as a result of his being recognized as permanently or temporarily incapable of military service because of his state of health,

2) for reasons spoken of in paragraph 1, point 1, before 12 months of service have been completed,

3) for reasons mentioned in paragraph 1, point 2, before 21 months of service have been completed.

31.0. In cases spoken of in section 25 and sections 27-30, conscripts are discharged from alternate service, and are also transferred to the reserves by the military recruiting commander.

32.1. A conscript discharged from alternate service without being transferred to the reserves, after the cessation of the reasons for his discharge from this service, is assigned to alternate service for the remaining period of the 24 months of service, if he is capable of military service and if there are no emergencies justifying his postponement for other reasons.

2. A conscript, spoken of in paragraph 1, can be assigned to alternate duty no later than the last day of the calendar year on which he becomes 24 years old.

3. The regulations in paragraphs 1 and 2 are applied appropriately for a soldier discharged from basic military service before its completion, if he has been assigned to alternate service at his request.

4. A conscript, mentioned in paragraph 3, is not entitled to a periodic furlough if he has used his periodic furlough in a given year of service during the performance of basic military service.

Section 5

Final Regulation

33.0. This decree will go into effect on the day of publication.

Chairman of the Council of Ministers: J. Pinkowski

6806
CSO:2600

'SCINTEIA' MARKS TRANSYLVANIA UNIFICATION ANNIVERSARY

AU301941 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1810 GMT 30 Nov 80

[AGERPRES headline: "Romanian People's Historical Work, the Results of its Struggle and Will of Unity and Independence"]

[Text] Bucharest, 30 Nov (AGERPRES)--Marking the completion, on December 1, of 62 years since the union of Transylvania to Romania, SCINTEIA of November 30 prints an extensive article pointing out:

The union of Transylvania to Romania 62 years ago marked the rounding off of the Romanian national state, whose foundations had been laid in 1859, through the union of Moldavia and Wallachia. The two unions were stages of an objective process whose beginning was as early as the beginning of the Romanian people. They crowned its aspirations and century-old struggle for unity and independence.

Stressing that the territorial, ethnical and linguistic unity of the Romanian people, definite attribute of its development, was not maimed by the statal division in the Middle Ages, nor was it by foreign dominations on parts of the Romanian land, the newspaper writes: The awareness of the unity of kin of the Romanians, in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania relied on the awareness of joint origin and on the broad economic, political and cultural links between the three Romanian principalities.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the completion of the national unity had become an objective necessity seen as such by all socio-political forces of the Romanian society. The building of the unitary national state was the fundamental objective of the entire Romanian community. The working-class movement in Romania approached this problem in the spirit of the peoples' right to self-determination, and the achievement of unity was associated with the revolutionary renewal of the structures of the Romanian society.

Pointing out that the beginning of the First World War created a new international context for the Romanian people's struggle for national emancipation and unity, that Romania committed herself to it in order to free the ancient Romanian territories inhabited by Romanians, at that time under the comination of Austro-Hungary, SCINTEIA stressed:

The intensification of the revolutionary and national movement and the collapse of the two big empires--Czarist and Austro-Hungarian--radically changed the conditions of the struggle for the rounding off of all Romanians' national unity.

A vigorous popular trend was manifest in the territories till that time under Austro-Hungarian authority, leading to the removal of the Hapsburg authorities, to the formation of new, revolutionary bodies, democratically elected. Mentioning that on December 1, 1918, the great national assembly, made up of delegates of the millions of Romanians of all parts of Transylvania, voted the union forever to Romania, SCIENTIA writes: That was the attainment of a desideratum for whose coming true numberless generations made their contribution in fight and sacrifice. Their doing fitted in with the legality and logic of history: only one people, only one country.

Pointing out that the cohabiting nationalities in Transylvania and the Banat recognized the legitimacy of the union of Transylvania to Romania, the newspaper goes on:

The rounding off of the Romanians' national unity as therefore achieved through the struggle of the entire people which took advantage of the conditions provided by the collapse of the Czarist and Austro-Hungarian empires in order to exercise its right to self-determination and to freely and democratically express its will to get united within the boundaries of only one state: Romania. Next followed the international recognition of the act of December 1, through peace treaties of the so-called Versailles system. This chronological sequence expressed a profound historical reality: the Romanian state was not an artificial resultant of a military conflict. It was the coming true of a century-old ideal in full harmony with the historical process governed by objective laws.

The building of the unitary national state provided the favorable framework for the Romanian society's multilateral progress.

The historical mission to solve in keeping with the interests of the broad mass of people the big issues that faced the Romanian people after the building of its unitary national state devolved upon the Romanian Communist Party.

The solution of the national question in the spirit of revolutionary principledness ensured unshakeable foundations to the unity between the Romanian people and the cohabiting nationalities. Romanians, Magyars, Germans alike are today firmly and in brotherhood engrossed in the effort for the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society.

CSO: 2020

'LEGITIMACY' OF TRANSYLVANIA UNIFICATION REAFFIRMED

AU011333 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1120 GMT 1 Dec 80

[AGERPRES headline: "The Union of Transylvania to Romania--Historical Legitimacy"]

[Text] Bucharest, 1 Dec (AGERPRES)--Romania celebrates today her union with Transylvania, an historic act which on December 1, 1918 marked the rounding off of the Romanian national state. The press prints on the occasion extensive articles stressing the importance of the event in the Romanians' history, as the crowning of its millenary aspirations and struggle for unity and independence.

The completion of the statal national unity, Professor G. Platon shows in an article published by the ERA SOCIALISTA magazine in its latest issue, was not a spontaneous act, nor was it a consequence of the peace treaties that ended the first world conflagration. It was an act towards which our entire historical development converged, it remade on a higher stage the unity of the people that came into being on this land through the Daco-Roman synthesis.

The awareness of the unity of kin of the Romanians in Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania was relying on the awareness of the common origin, on the ample economic, political and cultural links between the three Romanian principalities. In the writings of the Romanian chroniclers and in numerous stories of foreign travelers one can find proofs of the awareness of the fact that the Romanians all over the Dacian area make only one people. As Dimitrie Cantemir, a scientist of European reput wrote, there had previously been an ethno-territorial community, "the Romanian country which then was divided into Moldavia, Wallachia and Transylvania."

History proves that the perfect territorial, ethnic and linguistic unity of the Romanian people was not lessened by the statal division in the Middle Ages, or by foreign dominations on parts of the Romanian territory, reads an article authored by historian C. Cazaniteanu in the Sunday issue of SCINTEIA. It was upon that foundation that the first union was achieved by Prince Michael the Brave in 1600 which, although short lived, took on the value of a symbol which in the next centuries actuated the movement of national liberation and unity. The union of Moldavia and Wallachia in 1859, which meant the foundation of the modern Romanian state, the winning on independence in the battle field in 1877 consolidated this state and ensured the Romanian people's ever more vigorous affirmation among the nations of the world.

The beginning of the First World War created a new international context for the Romanian people's struggle for national emancipation and unity, just as it did for the other peoples in Central, Eastern and Southeast Europe. At that time, the building of the unitary national state rallying within its borders all the Romanians was the fundamental goal of the entire Romanian community. In that conflict, C. Cazanisteau stresses in his article, Romania got engrossed in order to free the ancient Romanian territories inhabited by Romanians and dominated by Austro-Hungary. Of course, alongside the intensification of the revolutionary and national movement, the collapse of the two empires--Czarist and Austro-Hungarian--radically changed the conditions of the Romanians' struggle. A vigorous popular current was manifest on the territories that until that time were under Austro-Hungarian authority, which led to the removal of the Hapsburg authorities and the formation of new, democratically elected ones.

At the call of the Romanian National Central Council, a representative body of all Romanians of Transylvania, the great National Assembly, convened on December 1 at Alba Iulia, voted their union forever with Romania. The assembly was constituent and had the character of a plebiscite, and the declaration endorsed there, by its profoundly democratic character, won the adhesion and support of the cohabiting nationalities who were united with the Romanian people in the century-old struggle against exploitation.

The completion of the Romanians' national unity was therefore achieved through the whole people's struggle. The Romanian state, recognized on an international plane through the peace treaties known as the Versailles system, was not an artificial resultant of a military conflict. It was the attainment of a century-old ideal. The work of the people fitted in with the legality and logic of the history: one people, one country, SCINTEIA reads.

CSO: 2020

ROLE OF 'TRIBUNES OF DEMOCRACY' AS PUBLIC OPINION OUTLETS

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 28 Nov 80 pp 1, 3

[Article by Mircea Moarcas: "The 'Tribune of Democracy' and the Affirmation of Citizens' Initiative"]

[Excerpts] As we know, the public meetings called the "Tribunes of Democracy," instituted at the initiative of the secretary general of the party, the president of the country, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu are an especially favorable framework for a direct participation of all workers in the cities and villages in the discussion of problems of general interest and the solution of public matters. Stimulating the development of political awareness and the civil responsibility of all members of our society, the "tribunes" in their entire development are integrated organically in the original system of democratic institutions created in our country in the period following the 9th party congress and there are evidence of the broad interest in the vast and complex problems of our economic and social life.

The "Tribune of Democracy" is organized on a monthly basis by the organs of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front, by localities, and in the case of municipalities and large cities, by sectors and districts. The importance of keeping the schedule for the place, day and time of the meeting should be stressed. This should be announced ahead of time by notices, radio announcements and by means of the local press.

As has been emphasized many times, it is desirable that the meeting be conducted by the mayor and that representatives of local party and state organs and leaders of different economic sectors and of municipal and communal activities also participate so that authorized, competent responses can be given to the questions of the citizens. The "Tribune of Democracy" does not have a pre-arranged theme; every participant is free to call attention to the problems which he considers to be most pressing. At a recent session emphasis was placed on the ineffectiveness of the practice of some councils in organizing public meetings on a single topic set ahead of time. This means the orientation of the sphere of the discussion in a unilateral manner and the limitation of the citizen's right to formulate questions and proposals in regard to every aspect of social life. Also, it was re-emphasized that every citizen is absolutely free to formulate any opinion and to express his opinions and that no one can be blamed in any way for a question which might appear to some as abnormal and out of place. The discussions between the public and the persons in

positions of responsibility should be simple, direct and open and each question should be followed immediately by a response. If some participants can clarify problems under discussion, their contribution has proven to be welcome. If the questions or problems cannot be answered on the spot, it is absolutely necessary that the response be given in the next meeting by responsible persons in the sectors concerned.

A highly significant aspect is the specific nature of the "tribunes" in the areas of the country in which workers of other nationalities live along with Romanians, where the organizers of the meetings are concerned with assuring the proper conditions so that the response during the dialog can be given in the language in which the question was asked.

The "Tribune of Democracy" is being inscribed more and more as a true public institution, as a real social organism, expressing the major interest of the citizens in a good organization and development of everyday life, in the strict observance of the laws, in the unceasing promotion of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. The most varied questions formulated by the citizens, ranging from those dealing with the domestic and foreign policy of Romania, different aspects of the current international situation, to current problems of the respective city and district, to problems of a municipal and communal nature, shows the wide range of concerns of the participants, their natural desire to learn and to be informed and to make decisions in direct relationship with their legitimate interests and the interests of the entire country. If the way in which the "Tribune of Democracy" is being developed today demonstrates that it is a true school for the democratic, revolutionary formation of the masses, at the same time, it constitutes, to an every-increasing extent, a test of the competence and receptivity of the factors of responsibility toward the citizens' proposals and concerns, a real school of leadership for local party and state organs.

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